HISTORY OF
GOLCONDA

ABDUL MAJEED SIDDIQUI

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Our own History

Though Deccan, a part of the Indian subcontinent, had been a separate entity for much of the prehistoric period, Mohammadan rule came into existence in south India after the demise of Prathaparudra - II. It is true that Delhi sultan could rule the southern part of Indian empire but the rule's nature was only supervisory. Whenever there was opportunity, the local rulers started behaving independently. For example, Hasangangu Bahman Shah declared himself as the king of Bahamani Empire. Over a period of time, Bahamani territory was divided into five parts; one of them is Golconda.

Sultan Quli Qutb-ul-Mulk who was sent as Governor to Golconda by the Bahamanids, formally became independent in 1538 and his Qutb Shahi dynasty ruled for around two centuries till it was invaded by emperor Aurangzeb and merged in Moghul kingdom.

Golconda rulers put in place, a strong political and administrative set up for a period of two centuries. The art and culture flourished in Deccan during their period. Literature of both Telugu and Urdu languages was raised to a greater height in their rule. Though Urdu was the chief language of those rulers, they supported Telugu scholars and appointed them in their darbars.

Reading the History of Golconda is equal to reading the culture, art and literature in a different way, apart from pure political dates and events. Thus, the History of Golconda written by Abdul Hameed Siddiqui is being published by the Telangana Sahitya Akademi which has immense pleasure in doing so.

- Telangana Sahitya Akademi

PREFACE

This History of Golcunda is in a way the English version of my book written and published some seventeen years ago, that is in 1939. I am glad that the book was widely circulated and read. But, it inevitably escaped the notice of English-knowing scholars, both in India and abroad and, therefore, its English version appeared to be an imperative necessity. It is regretted that owing to my other engagements the task of rendering the work into English took a pretty long time and could not be accomplished earlier. As a matter of fact, it is nothing short of a mental agony to change the medium of a book. Putting pen to paper, one may produce more original works within the time that is wasted in the change of medium. Besides, every language has got a genius of its own and one cannot easily bring forward the true spirit of one language into another. However, an English translation, with necessary modifications and additions, is now being presented to those who are interested in Deccan History.

It is a fairly comprehensive history which covers a long range of two hudred years from the antecedents of the dynasty to its end. Although the subject is dealt with in vertical and chronological order, yet the matter is so handled as to conform to the modern scientific method. The matter is arranged and divided into topics of cultural significance in a way as to give the reader a comprehensive view of the entire process of cultural evolution. An appreciable part of the book is devoted to the development of culture and economic conditions of the period. It is, after all, the cultural assets which a nation can justly boast of and bequeath to the coming gene-

rations. The Qutub Shahi Kings have bequeathed a valuable legacy of culture to the people of the Deccan.

It is a pity that Golcunda failed to arrest the attention of Indian historians. It received scant justice at the hands of Indian scholars. Limited though the kingdom was in its area and resources, it was, however, rich in history and cultural assets. It should therefore, occupy a prominent place in the history of the Sub-Continent. It laid down new principles of administration and evolved a new pattern of life and culture, the ingredients of which are still visible in the social life of the Deccan. The kingdom was known to the people of the Middle East Countries since its very inception and its illustrious culture attracted hoards of statesmen, scholars, traders and artisans from abroad. May I mention the fact that I have referred to all possible sources, Persian, Urdu, English. as also chronicles, inscriptions and traditions so as to make the work as authentic as I could possibly do. If I find time, I shall add some more material in a subsequent edition.

I am under heavy obligation to my friends and relations in the completion of the heavy task. I am grateful to my dear and esteemed friends, Mr. Salahuddin and Dr. Waheedudin, Professors of Philosophy, Osmania University for the valuable help they have extended in completion of the task. They spared their precious time to go through the entire manuscripts and their suggestions were most helpful. As a matter of fact, I owe to them more than this literary gesture and goodwill. They evoked in me a new spirit and a new vision of life.

I am equally grateful to my nephews, Messrs. Mirza Mahmood Baig and Abdul Hafeez Siddiqui for their valuable

co-operation. They started the work of translation and helped me in every possible way in completion of the task. The latter, Mr. Hafeez Siddiqui is the real architect of the work. He revised all the chapters and saw them through the press. I confess that the colossal work of this nature would not have seen the light of day without his hearty co-operation. My thanks are also due to Professor Fazle Haque of Nizam College, Hyderabad, for his timely help and advice.

Himayatnagar,
Hyderabad Deccan.
June 1956.

ABDUL MAJEED SIDDIQUI

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INTRODUCTION

The history of the Qutub Shahi dynasty is the history of the Andhra Desha and it would not, therefore, be out of place to have a glimpse of the geographical and physical conditions of the country as also a historical sketch of the people inhabiting the Deccan Plateau before we commence the history proper of the great Qutub Shahs. Andhra or, to use the Medieval expression, Telangana, over which the Qutub Shahi dynasty ruled during the 16th and 17th centuries, is the Eastern part of the Deccan Plateau where the Telugu language is spoken. It is approximately the same region which was under the sway of the Kakateya dynasty in the 13th century. The region was known to the Ancients even prior to the dawn of the Christian era. Geographically, it enjoys a continental-cum-maritime location. It stretches from the Chilka Lake and the lower fringes of Orissa in the North to the district of Chittor in the South, and extends from Kohir and Kolas in the West to the port of Masolipatam in the East. The region is watered by a large number of rivers, which run through it in all their majesty, benefiting the towns that are situated within. There are mountain ranges, too, which are known as the Eastern Ghats, such mountains as are, in the words of Ruskin, the beginning and the end of all natural scenery; they divide the region into two distinct parts, the one being the Coastal zone, which comprises the rich districts of Chikakol, Ellore, Rajamandry and Guntur with an elevation of 250 feet, and

the other, the Plateau zone which includes the districts of Nalgonda, Devarkonda, Ghanpura and Golcunda with an elevation ranging from 1,000 to 4,000 feet. The interior part is as rich and fertile as the coastal strip both in respect of its agricultural and its mineral produce. To descend to particulars, its richness lies in its river wealth. The large number of rivers, both great and small, is characteristic of this region alone. Besides the Godavari, Krishna, Tungabhadra and Pennar which form the major rivers, there are also as many as seventeen minor rivers which flow from either the Eastern or the Western Ghats or still from the inland hills and irrigate the whole region. Its sandy and alluvial soil which is eminently suitable for water storage is enormously distinct from the black soil of the Maharashtra and is also responsible for extensive cultivation and rich harvests. The climatic conditions, that is the rainfall, humidity and temparature, are not uniform throughout the region. When compared with Northern India, there is neither the frost nor the extremities of heat and cold. The climate of Andhra is either warm and humid or hot and humid, entirely depending upon seasons. It exercices a considerable influence on both the agriculture and the people. The rainfall too, two third of which is gained from the Western Ghats, and one third from the Eastern, is not uniform throughout the region. It varies from 15 to 35 inches in the delta zone which is watered by the Krishna and Godavari and from 40 to 50 inches in the plateau zone. The temperature during the hot or the cold weather also varies from place to place. It is 90° in summer and 70 in winter in the coastal zone while it is 115° and 50 respectively in the interior. Andhra is mostly an agricultural country, though it is not devoid of mineral resour-

ces. A great part of the country is under the plough and yields a double harvest owing to its rivers and canals.[1] That is the reason why it always attracted foreign invaders from time to time and even fascinated and dazzled the Mughal Emperors in the 17th century.

Leaving the controversial aspect of the topic to the scholars whether the Andhras are of the Aryan extraction or of the Dravidian, the fact still remains that the Andhras are an ancient people, with a long and glorious back-ground. The clear reference in regard to the people made in the Aitareya Brahmina of the Rig Veda bears a positive testimony to the fact that the Andhras had their separate entity as a race at least eight hundred years before the Christian era, that is, when the Brahmina was written.[2] Coming to the third century before Christ, Megasthenese, the Greek Ambassador to the Mauryan Court gives a graphic account of the country and the people in his famous travels.[3] The Andhras, however, came into prominence in the revolutionary period when Chandragupta Maurya over-ran the whole of Northern India and established himself as the undisputed master of the country. Megasthenese, at that time, represented the Andhras as a powerful race which was in possession of numerous villages and as many as thirty towns that were defended by walls and towers and a powerful army consisting of an infantry about 1,00,000 strong and a cavalry about 2,000 strong and as many as 1,000 elephants.[4] Although subsequently they had to dance attendance on the

1—Silver Jubilee Souvenir, Andhra Chamber of Commerce, pp. 53-58.

2—Dr. Venkatramanyya, Silver Jubilee Souvenir, Andhra Chamber of Commerce, p. 39.

3—Gopalachari, History of Andhra Country, pp. 1-7.

4—Dr. Venkatramanyya, S.J.S., p. 39.

Mauryan Empire and were even forced to pay homage to the Asokan Sovereignty, yet they did not remain tied to the apron strings of the Mauryans for a long time. They again rose to power after Asoka when the Mauryan Empire began to disintegrate. The Satavahanas who formed the earliest known dynasty of the Andhras were great history-makers. They not only dominated the whole of the Deccan plateau but they had also expanded their power in the North and even captured Magadh. The contribution to the Deccan culture which this great dynasty had made during the long span of four hundred years, is still traceable in the ruins of Patan, their capital, and its adjoining districts. The famous cave temples of Kasli, Nasik, Ellora and Ajanta are reminiscent of the Satavahana glory.

The fall of the Satavahanas in the 3rd century A. D. brought a set-back in the political and cultural history of the Deccan.[1] It put an end to the Deccan solidarity and split the country into small principalities that were ruled by petty dynasties like the Kadambas and Gangas. It was only in the middle of the 6th century that the scattered parts of the country were integrated under a new dynasty, namely, the Chalukyas . Pulekesan II who was a great ruler of the dynasty, brought the whole of the Deccan plateau under one banner and established a mighty empire which also covered Southern India. The Chalukyan Kings were of Kanarese extraction and spoke Kannada and not the Proto-Telugu which was spoken by the Satavahanas. It, therefore, appears that the Andhra region was completely merged in the Kanarese Empire. This may be the reason why the South-

1—For the origin and the end of the Satavahanas, see, Gopalchari, History of Andhra Country, pp. 28-29.

Eastern parts of the Deccan and the Tamilnad which are peopled by the Andhras and Tamilians respectively are still known as Karnatak. A redeeming feature of this period, however, which favoured the growth of the Andhra culture was that the coastal districts of the Deccan were entrusted to Kubja Vishnu Vardhan, the younger brother of Pulekesan II. The prince assumed independent rule of this part in about 624 A. D. and made it a separate state, with Vengi as his capital. Kubja and his descendants who ruled over the country for more than four centuries as independent kings were known in history as the Eastern Chalukyas. It was owing to their segregation move that the Andhras enjoyed a separate political individuality. Although the Vengi kings favoured the Kanarese people in the beginning yet, in the long run, they sponsored the Telugu language and culture.

The fall of the Chalukyas in the 12th century was the most critical episode of the Deccan history. It caused the disintegration of the country, followed by the rise of small principalities. But this disintegration was, at the same time, the most significant and remarkable phenomenon of history. It split the country, not in a haphazard manner but, curiously enough, into three separate linguistic and cultural regions. It was strange that the country was divided into three regional parts ruled by three different dynasties known as the Yadavas, Ballal and Kakateyas. The last named were the Andhra rulers who had declared independence in the Telugu speaking region that was formerly a province of the Chalukyan Empire, and made it a separate entity. It was under this dynasty which had ruled over the region during the 12th and 13th centuries that the Andhra Desha emerged as a separate linguistic and cultural unit, quite distinct from the

Maharashtra and the Karnatak proper which formed the other two regions of the Deccan. The Kakateyas expanded their kingdom upto its natural limits and sponsored the cause of their language and culture to their utmost capacity. The Andhra race owes much of its separate language and culture to the Kakateya Kings, especially to Pratap Rudra Dev, Ganpati and Rudramma Devi, the great rulers of the House.

This ancient set-up, however, did not last longer than a century. It was swept away by the Khalji and Taghlakh invaders in the beginning of the 14th century. The Kakateya kingdom was overthrown by the Taghlakhs in 1323 and the Telugu country, together with the rest of the Deccan, was incorporated in the Taghlakh Empire. The advent of these Turks in the Deccan marked a new epoch and ushered in a new era in history, known as the Medieval period. Sweeping though the revolution was, it nevertheless left the old institutions and traditions undisturbed. As a matter of fact, the revolution gave a new colour to the ancient culture, blending it with the new elements from the North. The Centurian nobles who were called upon to administer the newly conquered areas were liberal rulers who not only respected the old traditions but also preserved the ancient concepts and institutions of the old Hindu society. When the Centurians subsequently established their independent kingdom in the Deccan in 1345 which was, two years later, known as the Bahmani Kingdom after its first king, Bahman Shah, the Andhras found a favourable atmosphere for the preservation of their traditions. Two or three factors had favoured the growth of the Andhra nationality and culture during that period. In the first place, the Bahmani kings had, at least for about a century, failed to have an effective

control over the whole of the Andhra Desha, particularly the coastal districts. Secondly, the Bahmani administration was so moulded as to give a free atmosphere to the people of the Deccan. The Bahmani Kingdom was divided into three or four provinces on almost linguistic basis and, therefore, the Andhra region, in common with the others, enjoyed a separate position as also a favourable atmosphere to develop its language and culture. Thirdly, the Andhras too seized the occasion and, by a sort of a national spirit, soon tried to cut the Gordian knot. They did not remain in subjection to the foreign rule for a long time but exhibited a national awakening at every stage and waged wars of liberation against the rising tide of the Turks. It might rightly be called the first national movement of India. The Naiks and Reddies formed a confederacy under the leadership of Protaya Naik and thus struggled for existence. They not only succeeded in founding the mighty Empire of Vijayanagar in the South but also established petty princiapalities at Vijayanagaram, Rajamandry and Kondavedu. They were all purely Reddi kingdoms where Telugu culture flourished and Telugu language reached its heights[1] till the whole of Andhra was brought under the sway of the Qutub Shahi kings in the beginning of the 16th century. The Qutub Shahi kingdom which dominated the whole of Andhra, provided a still more congenial atmosphere for the Andhra people. As a matter of fact, it proved to be as national as that of the Kakateyas.

1—Dr. Venkatramanayya, S.J.S., pp. 42-43.

Part I

The Kingdom : Its Foundation

CHAPTER I

THE ANCESTRY OF THE QUTUB SHAHI KINGS

THE ANCESTRY

Sultan Quli Qutub Shah, the founder of the Golcunda kingdom, was a scion of the defunct royal family of Hamdan and a survivior of the Qara Qunilu tribe (Black Sheep) of Trans-Oxania. Islamic historians dealing with this period confirm the fact that this tribe was once the guiding force of Trans-Oxania and that it even extended its sovereignty to the Western boundaries of Iran. The tribe owed its distinguished place in history to great personalities like Qara Yousuf, Sikandar II, and Jahan Shah, who were great rulers of Iran and Turkistan and had raised the status of the tribe to the highest pitch. They played an important role in the history of Central Asia and stood in the front rank of mighty kings of the country, next to Tamerlain. It was this tribe that had offered a stiff resistance to Changiz Khan and guarded its independence upto the time of Abu Saeed Mirza. Qara Yousuf who was the contemporary of Tamerlain was an indomitable warrior who preserved the solidarity of his tribe against the growing menace of the latter. This was the only tribe in Turkistan which stemmed the tide of Tamerlain and his successors. Shah Rukh Mirza, the son of and successor to Tamerlain had to encounter Jahan Shah on seve-

ral occasions and, when the former died, it was Jahan Shah alone who dominated a great part of the Tamerlain Empire ![1]

The fourth and fifth centuries of Hijra mark a resurgence of vitality in the Turkish tribes of Central Asia. On embracing Islam, they imbibed a new civilisation and culture which they spread in the countries that came under their sway. The rise of the Qara Qunilu tribe, most probably, belonged to this period. In the beginning of the 4th century Hijra, the tribe began to unite under a leader, named Aghar Khan B. Qara Khan. Islamic historians hold that he was lineally connected with Yafith, the son of Noah the Prophet.[2] Aghar Khan was the first leader of this tribe to embrace Islam and invigorate the Qara Qunilu tribe. Under his guidance, the tribe occupied a major part of Turkistan, but when he died after a reign of about seventy years and Tora Baig succeeded him, there ensued a hectic period in their history. Changiz Khan had, meanwhile, started his raids and Tora Baig, who was too weak to encounter him, flew to the West. But when Changiz Khan crushed his rival, Sultan Kharzam, Tora Baig rose to the occasion and faced the Mongol menace. It was due to this oppugnation that they never danced attendance on either Changiz Khan or his contumelious successors.[3] In the end, however, the tribe was forced to move on to the Western part of Iran and held Hamdan as its headquarters.

1—Tarikh-e-Qutub Shahi, Mss. Asafia Library, Hyderabad, p. 3; Brown, Literary History of Persia, Vol. III, pp. 402-403.

2—Saidi, Nizamuddin, Hadiqatus-Salatine-Qutub Shahi, Part 1, p. 4.

3—Tarikh-i-Qutub Shahi, p. 3; Khundmeer, Hapeebus Siar, Vol. III, Part III, p. 105.

Qara Yousuf, the son of Qara Mohammed who was the sixth in lineal descent from Tora Baig and a contemporary and counterpart of Tamerlain, was acknowledged as one of the great rulers of Central Asia. When Tamerlain began his invasions in 750 A.H., this tribe had to bear the whole brunt. But the leadership of Qara Yousuf saved the situation. He braved the storm which had burst over Central Asia furiously and steered his dominion through thick and thin. Qara Yusuf's empire extended from the plains of Azurbaijan to the boundaries of Iraq and Arabia.[1] He died in 823 A.H. (1420 A.D.) and his son, Amirzada Sikandar, succeeded him with the title of Sikandar II. Jahan Shah was Sikandar's brother. When Sikandar was killed by his son, Kai-Khubad, Jahan Shah came to power and after the death of Shah Rukh Mirza in 850 A. H. (1446 A. D.), he occupied the whole of Iraq and became its undisputed master by the year 857 A.H. (1453 A.D.). He wore the crown, issued his own currency and got his name recited in the 'Khutba.' His empire was so extended as to cover a vast territory from Azurbaijan to the river Oman. He occupied Baghdad in 859 A.H. (1454 A.D.) and in 862 A. H. (1457 A. D.) seized the crown of Shah Rukh.[2] This was the pinnacle of glory attained by the Qara Qunilu tribe. But, despite all this power and glory, Jahan Shah had to dread the rival princes, Alwand and Kai-Khubad, the sons of Sinkandar II. He exercised utmost restraint in his attitude towards the princes and avoided any open conflict. When Kai Qubad died, Jahan Shah allowed Alwand to

1—Qutub Shahi, p. 13; Brown, Literary History of Persia, Vol. III, pp. 402-403; Malcolm, History of Persia, Vol I, p. 161; Khundmeer, Habeebus Siar, Vol. III, Part II, p. 105.

2—Qutub Shahi, pp. 23-27. Khundmeer p. 184.

occupy his ancestral home, Hamdan. He also gave the hand of his own grand-daughter (i. e., Prince Yousuf's daughter), Khadija Begum in marriage to Alwand's son named Peer Quli Baig. This couple left two sons, Ovais Quli and Allah Quli, of whom Ovais Quli succeeded to his father's throne at Hamdan. Ovais Quli who had married Mariam Khatun, the daughter of Malik Saleh, a nobleman of Hamdan, was survived by Sultan Quli, the founder of Golcunda kingdom. He owed the name Sultan Quli to his grandfather, Malik Saleh.[1] Some Historians call him Mohammed Quli,[2] but it appears to be incorrect.

It is thus evident that Sultan Quli belonged to an illustrious ruling family of Turkistan, connected on the one side with Qara Yousuf and Sikandar II and on the other with Jahan Shah. That is why the Qutub Shahi House is named after Qara Yousuf as well as Jahan Shah.[3] Ferishta repudiates this pedigree as an unreliable one and forges the geneological title of Sultan Quli to the Beharlu tribe and represents him as a descendant of Meer Ali Shair.[4] But the Golcunda historians who are more reliable than Ferishta, disprove this theory.

SULTAN QULI IN THE DECCAN

Sultan Quli's flight from Turkistan to the Deccan is fairly romantic; what impelled him to migrate to the Deccan

1—Tarikh-e-Qutub Shahi, 31.
2—Tazkiratul Muluk Khafi, Mss. Asafia Library, Hyderabad. p. 134.
3—Saidi, Hadi-Qatus-Salatin, part I, p. 68.
4—Ferishta, p. 167. But the authentic histories of Golcunda which were written at Golcunda itself, do not confirm this view. These accounts are more authentic than Ferishta in the matter of Golcunda history. Ferishta lapses into many a mistake regarding Golcunda. (Continued on p 7.)

were the horrible circumstances of his country, that is, the dominance of the rival group of Aqunelus and the fall of Jahan Shah's family. Aqunelus (White-Sheep), who had emerged as a rival tribe under Hasan Baig, better known as Uzun Hasan, courted antagonism against the Qaraqunilus and were on the look out for an opportunity to crush their rivals. Jahan Shah whose power was in ascendant inflicted crushing defeats and imposed humiliating taxes on the rival group. The complaisance on the part of Jahan Shah brought ruination to his tribe. Hasan Baig led a surprise attack and killed Jahan Shah and imprisoned his sons, Yousuf and Mohammed. This was the unfortunate eclipse of the Qara Yousuf family.[1] The Aqunelus then occupied the Qaraqunilu kingdom and vindictively murdered the members of the rival tribe. Peer Quli who had succeeded his father in Hamdan had to bear the wrath of the aggressors. Thanks to the good offices of the dignitories of Hamdan who were well-disposed to peer Quli that his life was spared and thus the old family of Hamdan survived.

Hasan Baig and his son, Khaleel Sultan wielded the sceptre for a long time. But the sucession of Ameer Yaqoob

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(Continued from p. 6)
The Qutub Shahi lineage as noted by the Qutub Shahi historians is also confirmed by Sultan Mohamed Qutub Shah, the 6th king of the dynasty. He has noted his line of descent in his own hand writing on a manuscript copy of a Dictionary entitled, "Kanzul "Lughat," "Mohamed Qutub Shah, son of Mirza Mohamed Ameen son of Ibraheem Qutub Shah son of Sultan Quli Qutbul Mulk son of Ovais Quli son of Peer Quli son of Alvand Baig son of Mirza Iskander son of Qara Yousuf son of Qara Mohamed Turkman." The manuscript is extant in Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad Deccan, See Bilgrami, Land-marks of the Deccan, p. 114.

1—Qutub Shahi, p. 31; Khundmeer, Habeebus Siar, Vol. III, part III, pp. 185-86.

after the death of Khaleel Sultan reversed the situation. Ameer Yakoob was a stern ruler and a shrewd statesman. He kept his watchful eye on the family of Hamdan, then represented by Sultan Quli, the son of Ovais Quli. The former, who was yet in his teens, gave promise of a bright career with intellectual attainments of a high order. The courtiers had warned Ameer Yaqoob against the growing potentialities of Sultan Quli. The astrologers who were consulted in this respect also confirmed the prediction. This naturally led to apprehension on the part of Ameer Yaqoob who secretly contrived to put the youth to death. This naturally worried Ovais Quli who hurried to some of the chiefs of Hamdan and sought their wise counsel. They advised Ovais Quli to send Sultan Quli over to India in order to let him try his fortune as also to save his life from the wrath of his adversaries. This was the reason why Sultan Quli who is also named Ali Quli by some of the historians, embarked on his journey to India in the company of his uncle, Allah Quli.[1] One historian attributes his migration to a commercial motive, that is, trade in horses. He says that he had brought some Iraqi horses to northern India, and later on to Bidar where he carried on his trade successfully. It is also said that he had come to India twice in pursuit of his trade.[2] But the statement is not corroborated by other historians. Their role as traders is unthinkable in view of their own position as scions of a royal family. They had some Iraqi horses, no doubt, but they were meant for presentation as gifts. It is undeniable that the downfall of the family and the dread of Aqunelus was the only cause of the migration. It is, however, certain

1—Qutub Shahi, p. 32; Abu Turab, Hadiqatul Alam, p. 1001.
2—Tazkirat-ul-Mulk Khafi, p. 134. Mss. Asafia Library, Hyderabad.

that Sultan Quli, along with his uncle, had twice visited India, and had an easy access to the Bahmani court on account of his rich presents. On the very first visit, Sultan Quli was so much impressed by the Deccan culture, the mode of living and the manners of the people, that he was tempted to settle down in this country. His uncle, on the other hand, was against this view and pressed his nephew to return to Iraq.[1] On their way to India, they had a brief halt at Yazd with the sole object of meeting and invoking the blessings of Shah Nuruddin Nimatulla II, a spiritually illuminated sage who was closely related to Sultan Quli through his wife. Much pleased to learn about his journey to India, the saint wished him success and gave him gold sovereigns which lay underneath his praying carpet, with the pious wish that he would one day wield the royal sceptre in the Southern regions of India.[2]

It appears that Sultan Quli proceeded to the Deccan straight and found his way into the Bahmani Kingdom,[3] which was widely known and had also attracted people from Iran and Turkistan for its hospitality and patronage of learning. The reign of Mahmood Shah Bahmani during which Sultan Quli got an ingress in the Deccan was a period of excessive immigration of foreigners who were generously welcomed by the Bahmani Durbar. The reign of Feroz Shah Bahmani had paved the way for the influx of foreigners who hailed from Arabia, Persia and Trans-Oxania and were received very hospitably. Even Khaja Hafiz Shirazi, the celebrated Muslim poet, was invited by the Bahmani Durbar. The reign of Mahmood Shah was the

1—Qutub Shahi, p. 36; Abu Turab, Hadiqatul Alam, p. 11.
2—Qutub Shahi, p. 34; Hadiqatul Alam, p. 11.
3—Ferishta, p. 167.

culmination of this influx. It witnessed streams of foreigners coming down to the Deccan and receiving the best kind of hospitality. That is why Bidar, during the last phase of Bahmani reign, had become the centre of attraction for all the people from the Middle East as against Northern India which was disrupted by successive political upheavals caused by the decaying Sadaat & Lodi dynasties and the raids of Tamerlain. It is probable that Sultan Quli had made a brief halt in the North before he proceeded to the Deccan.[1] As the Bahmani Government was alive to the influx of the new-comers and patronized a large number of foreigners, it can be presumed that Sultan Quli and his uncle had an easy access to the court of Mahmood Shah at Bidar.[2]

Ferishta ascribes the arrival of Sultan Quli to the reign of Mohamed Shah II. To put it in his own words, 'Mohamed Shah Lashkari was fond of Turkish slaves and Sultan Quli was one whom the king had recruited."[3] But the local histories, such as the Tarikh-e-Qutub Shahi and Tazkeratul Muluk Khafi, Zafra, and Tarik-e-Qutbia that are more reliable than Ferishta, are definite in their statement that Sultan Quli had come to the Deccan in the reign of Mahmood Shah after the death of Mohamed Shah Lashkari. The Tazkiratul Muluk by Khafi ascribes, in unequivocal terms, the second visit of Sultan Quli and his uncle to 892 A. H. which happened to be the reign of Mahmood Shah, whereas Mohamed Shah Lashkari's death had occured in 887 A. H. (1482 A. D.)[4] Ferishta's further statement that Sultan Quli had joined the rank and file of Turkish

1—Qutub Shahi, p. 34; Tazkiratul Muluk Khafi, p. 134.

2—Tazkiratul Mulk Khafi, p. 135.

3—Ferishta, p. 167.

4—Tazkiratul Muluk Khafi, p. 135.

slaves is equally untenable. It is undeniable that Sultan Quli belonged to a great ruling family of Persia. Although the family was deposed, it nevertheless commanded wide respect at Hamdan and possessed some lands and rich property. This fact was referred to by Allah Quli when he was desired by Sultan Mahmood Shah to settle down in the Deccan.[1] Almost all the histories of Golcunda confirm that Sultan Quli approached the Bahmani court as a respectable refugee, with rich presents, and not as a slave. And when Sultan Quli and his uncle, Allah Quli were received in audiance by the royal court for the first time, they were awarded a liberal annuity for their subsistence and, on their second visit, they were asked to settle down in the Deccan. But the death of Ameer Yakoob which occurred soon after their arrival at Bidar was nothing short of a tempting news. It offered them a good chance to regain their former power. Allah Quli had, therefore, asked for the royal permission to leave for his native land. But the king was so much impressed by their culture nd talents that he hesitated in granting them permission to leave for Iran. In the second interview, the king enquired about their future course of action. "What has transpired in yesterday's meeting," asked the king, "and what is the decision you have arrived at"? "It is after all the order of the king, the Defender of the Faith", replied Allah Quli, "whatever the king desires us to do, it is our fortune to follow".[2] Further pressed by the visitors, the king agreed to permit only Allah Quli, but not Sultan Quli to leave for Hamdan. The latter had himself opted to stay in India. Allah Quli was thus granted an exit with

1—Tazkiratul Muluk Khafi, p. 134.

2—Qutub Shahi, p. 36.

royal gifts and Sultan Quli settled down in the Deccan.[1]

Mahmood Shah was much pleased with Sultan Quli and enlisted him in the body of favourite courtiers. The author of Tarikh-e-Qutub Shahi refers to a hunting incident which gained for Sultan Quli a place in the royal confidence. According to him, the king had one day arranged a hunting party which was his favourite pastime and his courtiers failed to bag good game despite their best efforts. On the contrary, the animal bagged by Sultan Quli gained royal appreciation and, in consequence, the king granted to him 150 Arab and Iraqi horses in harness, and also assigned to him the district of Kurangal, together with its adjoining villages and invested him with the title of Khawas Khan.[2] Ferishta states that Sultan Quli owed all the prominence mainly to his literary and military talents. According to him, Sultan Quli was well-versed in arithmetic and wrote good hand and, accordingly, the king appointed him as accountant of the royal palaces. The ladies of the harem were equally impressed by his intellectual attainments and deep sense of duty.

A political insurrection in some of the districts and his peaceful efforts to quell it, added to his reputation. Some of the districts were disturbed by brigands and disloyal landlords who had risen in revolt. The situation called for immediate action and the king intended to despatch a force of two or three thousand horsemen. Sultan Quli offered his services for the task and assured the king that

1—Hadiqatul Alam, p. 13; Qutub Shahi, p. 36.
2—Qutub Shahi, p. 37.

he would undertake the task without an armed conflict. The king gave his consent and Sultan Quli, with a few companions, proceeded to the disturbed districts. He succeeded in restoring order by means of conciliation and intimidation. All the brigands were rounded up and the disloyal landlords reduced to subjection. It testified to his extraordinary talents and promised him a high position in the near future.[1] It can, therefore, be inferred that his rise to prominence was chiefly due to his literary and military competence, and not to the mere hunting incident as recorded in the Tarikh-e-Qutub Shahi. According to Farishta, Sultan Quli's success in the turbulent districts brought him country-wide fame. As he had combined in him both the qualities of a good soldier and a good scholar, he used to be addressed in the Firmans with the prenomen of the "Master of the sword and pen"[2]. صاحب السيف و الاقلام

1—According to Ferishta, this incident is ascribable to the reign of Mohammed Shah. But a little effort to find out facts make it crystal clear that Sultan Quli had come four years after the death of Mohammed Shah.

2—Ferishta, Part IV, p. 168.

CHAPTER II

THE DAWN OF THE KINGDOM

An unhappy event that occurred in 892 A. H. (1487 A. D.), added fresh laurels to the renown of Sultan Quli. An evil attempt was made on the life of Mahmood Shah by some of the inhabitants of Bidar. A party of the Deccanees, impelled by sectarian jealousy, rushed to the fort where the king resided. But their attempt was thwarted by the timely help of a foreign group. Prominent men like Hasan Ali Sabzwari, Syed Mirzai Mashhadi and Sultan Quli, with a band of ten armed soldiers, put up a ring of defence round the king till they received fresh reinforcements from outside and succeeded in saving the life of the monarch. As Sultan Quli had extended his full co-operation in the loyal service done to the king in that critical moment, he was duly rewarded with all royal favours and distinctions. Three years had hardly elapsed since the ugly incident took place, a grave rebellion broke out on the Western coast. The Western region which included Goa and other adjoining parts, was governed by a Bahmani officer, Bahadur Gilani, who, in common with the other Bahmani nobles, had raised the banner of revolt against the Central government in 899 A.H. (1493 A.D.)[2] The rebellion entangled not only the Bahmani Kingdom but also the neighbouring

1—Ferishta, part III, p. 366; Tarikhe Qutub Shahi, pp. 37-39.
2—Ferishta, part III, p. 368.

kingdom of Gujrat, for Bahadur Gilani had lately looted some of the merchant ships belonging to the latter kingdom. The king of Gujrat, Sultan Mahmood, had demanded an immediate redress. The Bahmani king, in company with Qasim Bareed, led an expedition in person and the royal army was reinforced by provincial contingents of Malik Ahmed Bahri, Yousuf Adil Khan and Imadul Mulk. The fort of Jamkhandi which was controlled by Bahadur Gilani became the first target. Qutbul Mulk Deccani, who was the Governor of the Telangana Province, was deputed to sweep the board at the fort, but he died soon after this engagement. The king appointed Sultan Quli to succeed him, to his post as well as to his title, and later on to the province which the late Governor controlled. The honorific title of Qutbul Mulk, in addition to his previous investment of Khawas Khan proved very auspicious and continued in his family as a hereditory title for two hundred years. When Sultan Quli declared independence in the Telugu province he was known as 'Qutub Shah'. The capture of Jamkhandi was followed by the possession of Manglair and Miraj. Kallaher was next to be stormed and captured by the king himself whereas the fort of Panala held out for a long time. But it ultimately surrendered to Khaja Jahan Fakhrul Mulk and Sultan Quli Qutbul Mulk to the frustration of Bahadur Gilani. The two generals were duly honoured by the king in recognition of their services and Khaja Jahan was invested with the prenomen of "Makdoom." When he was relieved of the Western operations, the king returned to the capital and sent some rich presents to Mahmood Shah, the king of Gujrat, with the happy news of Bahadur's defeat. As the Governorship of Telangana was vacant since the death of Qutbul Mulk Deccani, Sultan

Quli was appointed as Governor of that Province and Golcunda and Warangal were added to his assignments.[1]

A brief review of the political situation which prevailed in the last two decades of the fifteenth century is necessary to follow the trend of subsequent events. The Bahmani Kingdom continued to be strong till the reign of Mohammed Shah Lashkari. But, unfortunately, it was disrupted by an influx of foreigners from Arabia, Persia and Trans-Oxania. They gradually dominated the society and captured the entire government machinery to the utter humiliation of the Deccani party. The Deccanees who had, for many years, served the Bahmani Kingdom loyally were dislodged from their former positions. Almost all the posts in the civil and military departments passed on from the Deccanees to the foreigners who were called "Ghareeb" or "Afaqi". This naturally led to bitter sectarian jealousies between the foreigners and the Deccanees who had formed a separate party in alliance with the Africans. The tension developed day by day and came to a head, first in the reign of Allaudin II and later in that of Mohamed Shah Lashkari, ending in the ruthless murder of many foreigners, including Khaja Mahmood Gawan, the great Wazeer. The reign of Mah-

1—Tarikhe Qutub Shahi attributes the capture of Miraj to the efforts of Sultan Quli. According to this authority, the fort was controlled by a Maratha commander, Pota Naik who was overthrown by Sultan Quli in a duel and the fort was seized. The king was very much pleased with this heroic act and he awarded all the booty that was collected from the fort to Sultan Quli himself. This service gave him a unique distinction and he gained the governorship of the Telugu Province. Ferishta is of the opinion that Sultan Quli was given the title of Qutbul Mulk on the same occasion. See Tarikhe Qutub Shahi, p. 42; **Ferishta, part III, p. 369.**

mood Shah Bahmani brought the sectarian trouble to a climax. As the king bestowed his best favour on the foreigners, the Deccani party was driven to despair and went to the length of murdering the king himself. They rushed to the fort but failed to achieve their evil object owing to the timely action of the Turks and the Persians. When the Daccanees were driven back, the king ordered their general massacre in retaliation which continued for three days and stopped only at the earnest prayer of some of the religious leaders.

The incident, however, was an eye opener and the government could have learnt a good lesson out of it. Although the Turks and the Persians extended their cooperation to the king, their bonafides nevertheless hung in doubt. They pursued their own selfish ends and cared little for the future of the Kingdom. The Deccani party was, on the other hand, so much overwhelmed by a feeling of frustration that they lost all hope and lived a miserable life. Driven to despair by the unfriendly attitude of the king, they entirely withdrew their cooperation from the government. The result was a political chaos which ended in the disruption of the whole Kingdom. It was an irony of fate that the very foreigners in whom the king had reposed his utter confidence, defied his authority and established independent principalities. The provinces broke away from the central government and emerged as independent principalities under their respective Governors. At the beginning of the tenth century Hijra, the Kingdom was ultimately split into the states of Bijapur, Ahmedanagar and Berar. The founders of Ahmednagar, Bijapur and Berar had, as early as 895 A.H. (1489 A.D.), entered their names in the Khutba and had the drums beaten five times which indicated the declaration

of independence[1]. Sultan Quli, who governed the Telugu Province was expected to follow suit. The Telugu Province, which lay in the Eastern Deccan, was equally a separate geographical entity. It claimed a separate government for itself and, being far away, feared no retributive action from the central government. But it is a distinctive feature of the Golcunda history that it assumed its independent position as late as the 16th century A.D. In the first place, Sultan Quli was appointed as the Governor of Telangana as late as 1496, that is, long after Ahmed Nizam Shah and Yousuf Adil Shah had declared their independence. It was only after the rout of Bahadur Gilani that Sultan Quli was made the Governor of Telangana in 901 A.H. (1496 A.D.). Even after he assumed charge of the province as a Governor, he did not announce his independence for well nigh a quarter century, though he had exercised sovereign powers and, through conflicts with Vijayanagar, had gained sufficient strength in his province. Whatever his strength and authority, Sultan Quli remained loyal and honest to the last and expressed his allegiance to his patron king in all respects. It is creditable on his part that he had extended wholehearted cooperation to the king as against Yousuf Adil Shah in his punitive expedition against the introduction of the Shia faith in Bijapur, despite his own affiliation with the same faith.[2] Besides, he advanced five thousand huns to Sultan Mahmood every month for his private expenses when the unhappy king

1—Ferishta, p. 367. Beating of drums five times along with the announcement of the name in Khutba was considered to be the declaration of independence. The Bahmani kings had the drums beaten five times every day at their palace and it was considered to be an insignia of royalty.

2—Ferishta, p. 372.

was disabled by the faithless Bareeds. Unlike other historians, Ferishta[1] holds that Sultan Quli assumed sovereignty ever since he was placed in charge of the Telugu Province. But formal declaration of independence on the part of Sultan Quli does not accord to the act of loyalty which Ferishta himself is not slow to admit. It is certain that Sultan Quli announced his independence, but it was not simultaneously with the kings of Bijapur and Ahmednagar. The announcement, as a matter of fact, came twenty or twenty two years later. It bears eloquent testimony to his loyalty. The Golcunda histories are definite in their assertion that Sultan Quli declared his independence not during the life-time of his patron, Sultan Mahmood Bahmani, but after his death. According to the Tarikhe Qutub Shahi, the king died in 912 A.H. (1506 A.D.).[2] If we take the date to be correct, the declaration of independence occurred some six years after the death of Sultan Mahmood, i.e. in 918 A.H. But according to Qutbia and many other histories, Sultan Mahmood died in 924 A.H. (1518 A.D.) and the same date may be established to be that of Sultan Quli's declaration of independence.[3] Tazkeratul Muluk by Khafi makes no reference to the fact. The author says that Sultan Quli remained loyal throughout whereas the other nobles of the Deccan rose in rebellion.[4] Moreover, he never encroached upon the Bahmani

1—Ferishta, p. 373. According to Ferishta, it was in 918 A.H. (1512 A.D.) that Sultan Quli substituted his name in the 'Khutba' for that of Sultan Mahmood and adopted the title of Qutub Shah, and had the drums beaten 5 times. But other histories do not confirm this statement. They ascribe the event to the year 1518 when the death of Mahmood Shah had taken place.

2—Qutub Shahi, p. 50.

3—Qutbia, p. 21. Mss. Asafia Library, Hyderabad.

4—Khafi, Tazkeratul Muluk, p. 137.

territory but remained content with the area which was placed under his jurisdiction, though the other governors not only violated the boundaries and annexed several parts of the mother Kingdom, but also persuaded Sultan Quli to extend his province by acquiring the adjoining territories and offered their services to that end. But Sultan Quli abhorred it as a flagrant violation of faith and disloyalty. He, instead, conquered foreign territories which were not annexed by the Bahmani Kingdom so far. The author of Tarikhe Qutub Shahi quotes Sultan's own words, transcribed from Marghoobul Quloob, as follows:—

> "I always believed that the annexation of the royal territory without the express consent of the king is an ignoble act of treachery and disloyalty. I must be content with the districts which the king had, out of his own choice and free will, entrusted to me, and I must annex the foreign territories belonging to the unbelievers by conquest. If God, the most Supreme and Almighty, likes to confer a kingdom on me, He may make me triumphant in the crusade against the unbelievers and therefore I, unlike the other nobles, never encroached on the hereditary territories of the king but devoted myself to the conquest of foreign territories by undertaking a crusade against the infidels."

An inscription on the cathedral mosque of Golcunda known as the Masjid-i-Safa, throws further light on the loyal spirit of Sultan Quli. The mosque was built by Sultan Quli Qutub Shah at Golcunda in 924 A.H. (1518 A.D.), the year

1—Qutub Shahi, p. 52.

in which Sultan Mahmood Shah died. An inscription on the mosque is worded as follows:—

> "The construction of the mosque took place in the reign of the Great King, the dependent on God, Bahmani Abul Gazi Mahmood Shah, the son of Mohamed Bahmani".[1]

Although Sultan Quli was made the Governor of Telangana in 901 A.H., (1496 A.D.), yet it is difficult to ascertain whether he made Golcunda as his headquarter at the outset. It appears from Qutub Shahi records that Golcunda was not his headquarter in the beginning but that he resided at some place away from Golcunda Hill. All the historians unanimously hold that Sultan Quli had declared independence after the construction of the Fort and the City. As the declaration took place in 924 A.H. (1518 A.D.), it becomes evident that Golcunda was made the capital of the Kingdom on, or, a little before the said date. As a matter of fact, the fort and the city were founded after Sultan Quli successfully under-took his invasions in Telangana and a large number of people had settled round about the fort. The main object of the plan was to make the fort a nucleus of offence and defence. Though it was not centrally located in Telangana, yet it was situated, geographically, at a strategic point wherefrom he could set forth to encounter the Bareedi and 'Adil Shahi powers on the one side and could check the Southern power of Vijayanagar on the other. The hill was

1—Bilgrami, Landmarks of the Deccan. We owe this information to Ali Asghar Bilgrami, the author of this book. It was he who discovered the inscription and threw light on this point, pp. 110-111.

not without forification. It was previously called Mangal[1] It might have served as a provincial headquarter of the old Chalukya Kingdom. When the Kingdom collapsed and many principalities rose up on its ruins, a separate principality was also founded at Golcunda or Mangal. But most probably, Golcunda was the Eastern Province of the Warangal Kingdom which was ruled by the Kakatiya dynasty. The hill had some fortifications, though the walls thereof were made of mud. Subsequently, when the Bahmani Kingdom extended its frontiers upto Warangal, Golcunda also merged in that Kingdom and the then Raja of Warangal surrendered the Golcunda fort during the reign of Mohamed Shah I which runs from 760 A.H. (1358 A.D.) to 776 A.H. (1375 A.D.). Since then, Golcunda was used as an Eastern post of the Bahmani Kingdom to control the Eastern territories and frontiers. When Sultan Mahmood Bahmoni conferred the Governorship of Telangana on Sultan Quli, Golcunda was assigned to him as a Jagir. It was after Sultan Mahmud's death in 924 A.H. (1518 A.D.) that Sultan Quli renamed Golcunda as "Mohamed Nagar" and made it his capital with the storage of civil and military provisions. The hill was sufficiently strengthened to serve as military post as also a centre of defence. A strong rampart on the skirts protected the peaceful citizens. Buildings, palaces, rest houses and mosques, decorated the city and its suberbs. It attracted thousands of people to settle down. According to Qutub Shahi histories, "The new City became enviable and also gave an impetus for further progress within a very short time"[2].

1—On an inscription at Golcunda which is found on the grave of Nawab Nek Nam Khan, this place has been named as "Mangalwaram." Bilgrami, Landmarks of the Deccan, p. 174; Saqui, Maasir Alamgiri, p. 301.

2—Qutub Shahi, p. 55; Tarik-e-Qutbia, p. 21.

THE CONQUESTS

The Bahmani Province of Telangana which was entrusted to Sultan Quli was limited within its circumference. It was confined to the area between Kohir and Warangal. The territories which lay beyond Warangal were subsequently conquered by Sultan Quli. The region of Telangana which was formerly known as "Andhra" is an extensive part of the Deccan Plateau and is distinguished for its peculiar geography, history and culture. The entire region, running parallel to the Coromandal Coast from Chilka lake to Chittur, also including parts of Chanda and Orissa that are adjacent to the Sikakol District, was not under the Bahmani suzerainty. At the time when Sultan Quli became the Governor of Golcunda, the Eastern districts from Warangal right up to Masulipatam were independent under their petty Rajahs and the Southern districts had acknowledged the suzerainty of Vijayanagar. But a united Telangana under a common ruler and a centralized Government was a pressing need of the time. It was high time that the diverse elements and scattered parts of the country were fused into a well-knit united Telugu speaking nationality. Moreover, the budding state of Golcunda which had just sprung up under the leadership of Sultan Quli Qutub Shah could not remain buried within the limited circumference but it was bound to expand to its natural boundaries.

Sultan Quli was a great political leader and statesman. He ruled over Telangana in two capacities, first as a governor and then as an independent king. His Governorship which extended well nigh over 24 years was devoted to internal administration. He was probably held up by his contests with Vijayanagar and Bidar in his attempt to extend the Dominion. An attack on Yousuf Adil Khan and another

one on Dastur Dinar were the two military engagements which he undertook during his Governorship in support of his patron king, Mahmood Shah [1] When he became independent after the death of Sultan Mahmood in 924 A.H. (1518 A.D.), his first step was to fortify Golcunda. He started his campaigns and launched attacks on various forts in Telangana after he was assured of his military strength and equipment. Raj Konda was the first fort which invited his attention. It was besieged and captured after a heavy loss of life. The ruler of the Fort, Venkat Naik was put in chains. Devarcunda was the next target but its capture brought many political troubles in its wake. It brought the Golcunda Government face to face with the great power of Vijayanagar. The Southern Empire pushed her armies towards the South-Eastern boundaries with a view to checking the progress of Sultan Quli. It threatened a grim battle for which Sultan Quli was unprepared. But the political insight and military tactics of the king won the day and the invaders took to their heels. Relieved of the Southern danger, Sultan attacked the Southern fort, Pangal which lay in the Krishna Valley and commanded a strategic position. The fort was occupied after a sanguine battle. It helped in preventing further advance of Vijayanagar and facilitated the capture of both the forts. Thereafter, Ghanpura which lay between Pangal and Koilcunda, invited Sultan Quli's attention. The Qutub Shahi armies advanced from Pangal towards Ghanpura and Koilcunda. The latter controlled the valleys of the Krishna and the Tungabhadra. This was the final stage of his expansionist scheme and therefore Sultan Quli returned to Golcunda after the occupation of Koil-

1—Dastur Dinar, the Abyssinian, was the Governor of Gulbarga. He had raised the banner of revolt against Mahmood Shah.

cunda.[1] A few years later, there came a report from Khammammet that the Raja of the principality was encroaching upon the Qutub Shahi boundaries and it naturally perturbed the old king once again. He led the army in person and gave battle to the aggressor. It was a grave situation because the Northern powers of Telangana had joined the insurgent and the king had therefore to face a united front. The Rajas who had formed the alliance were Ramchandar and Hari Chand and the strength of their army amounted to 3 lakhs infantry and 30 thousand cavalry. A grim battle ensued. Yet the quick march of Sultan Quli to the banks of the Godavari and his fierceful attack on the allies wrecked the confederation and the allies were forced to conclude a humiliating peace with the victor at a heavy price. They had to surrender a greater part of Northern Telangana to the Qutub Shahi suzerainty with a rich booty in cash and kind.[2] But no sooner did Sultan Quli return to Golcunda, than the Raja of Vijayanagar started his game afresh and encroached upon the Qutub Shahi territories. A battle again took place and ended in a defeat to Vijayanagar, with the surrender of Bellamcunda and Kondavidu to the Qutub Shahi arms[3]. Nalgonda was the closing chapter of the expansionist movement. It offered a stiff resistance under Hari Chand, the Raja of the principality. The fall of Nalgonda climaxed the scheme of conquest which brought sixty to seventy forts and fortified towns under the Qutub Shahi sway. The scheme was implemented within a period of 30 years and made the Qutub Shahi Kingdom a mighty power, extending from Warangal to the coast of

1—Qutub Shahi, pp. 55-62.

2—Qutub Shahi, pp. 72-76.

3—Ibid, pp. 80-81.

Machlipatam. Sultan Quli's own remarks about his achievements are good enough to reflect on the reality:—

> "It is now a span of 60 years since I have been waging wars, day and night, against the unbelievers and by the grace of Almighty, and the good wishes of the Saints, I have conquered, by means of glittering sword, about 60 to 70 forts and fortified towns that lay between the confines of Warangal and the coasts of Machlibandar and Rajamandry, including the great strongholds like Koilcunda, Devarcunda and Pangal etc."[1]

In the latter half of Jamadiul Awal, 950 A.H. (1543 A.D.), this great ruler of the Deccan fell a prey to the machinations of his faithless son, Jamsheed and died. He was buried at Langar Houze where his tomb stands to this day. Sultan Quli ruled over the Deccan for about fifty years, 24 years as a Governor and 26 years as an independent king. If we take into account the early days since he had come to the Court of Sultan Mahmood at Bidar, his political career in the Deccan spreads well nigh over sixty years and the fact is confirmed by his own words quoted above. Even the earlier period is not barren. He had quelled an insurrection in Telangana long before he assumed the reins of governorship and thus he was associated with the political life of this country since then. His work during the period of 50 or 60 years was, in a sense, revolutionary. He brought the scattered parts of the country under one banner and fused them into one nationality. It was a great service to the people and to the civilisation of the Deccan. It was up to

1—Qutub Shahi, p. 50.

his successors to see that the united Kingdom was properly consolidated and embellished with art and culture. Sultan Quli was revered as "Bare Malik," the Great King by his Andhra subjects for his old age and venerable personality.[1]

1—Bilgrami, Landmarks of the Deccan, p. 112.

CHAPTER III

CIVIL WAR

Sultan Quli Qutub Shah died at the ripe old age of ninety nine years. He had guided the destinies of the Telangana people for nearly six decades. His death was, by no means, untimely, for the Kingdom of Golcunda, though in the embryo of its birth, had been fairly strengthened and its boundaries to the East had extended upto Machlipatam. However, it was unfortunate that the Sultan died at a time when several of his sons were rising in revolt and the stage had already been set for a civil war. The sovereign was survived by six sons.[1] The eldest son, Hyder Quli was nominated as successor to the throne. But, unfortunately, the prince who was the idol of the king and the populace had predeceased his father. Sultan Quli had, therefore, nominated his second son, Qutbuddin as his successor to inherit his dominion. But he was made of a different stuff, quite unequal to the task of state administration. His complaisance and his indifference to political affairs which characterised him, wrecked his career despite his noble qualities of head and heart. His younger brothers, Jamsheed Quli, Abdul Karim and Dowlat Quli, on the contrary, were very shrewd and capable, and had aspired for kingship even

1—Ferishta erroneously holds that Sultan Quli had only three sons, Jamsheed, Hyder and Ibraheem. See Ferishta, vol. II, part III, p. 168.

during their father's life-time. They were only waiting for an opportunity to assassinate their brother and usurp the Kingdom. Ibraheem Quli, the sixth and the last son was a promising youth, endowed with noble qualities. He showed utmost loyalty to his father. It was in recognition of his excellent moral character and political aptitude that he was placed in charge of responsible duties of the Kingdom. At the time of Sultan's death, he was in-charge of Devarcunda. Abdul Karim rose in open rebellion, and when he failed in his object, he made his way to Bijapur and tried to ignite a conflagration there. But his efforts bore no fruit and he at last met his death somewhere in Bijapur as a political and moral wreck. His two brothers, Jamsheed and Dowlat Quli were also suspected of their seditious movements, though not guilty of an open revolt.

Dowlat Quli was already stigmatized as "mad prince" for his foolish and immoral acts verging on disloyalty. It was because of the wicked platitudes of these two sons that Sultan Quli Qutub Shah had imprisoned them in separate forts, the object being that they might not join hands in a conspiracy against Qutbuddin and eventually plunge the country into tumult and confusion. Jamsheed was confined in Golcunda and Dowlat Quli in Bhongir fort as State prisoners.[1] As the latter was removed to a distant place, where he ultimately died, he could not associate himself with the seditious movement which was on foot in the centre. But Jamsheed Quli's imprisonment in the fort of Golcunda proved to be an asset than a liability. He found himself in a better position to hatch a conspiracy from within the fort. He apprehended no danger from his weak and indolent brother,

1—Qutub Shahi, p. 105.

Qutbuddin, who had lived a quiet life. What he feared was the attitude of his father who was well disposed to his brother. If the aged king were to die a natural death, nothing would deter Qutbuddin from accession to the throne. It was also anticipated that the aged king would, in all probability, abdicate in favour of the crown prince. With all these suspicions in his mind, Jamsheed's first step was to assassinate his father and to this end, he hired the services of a culprit, Mir Mahmud Hamdani, who sneaked off an attack on the Sultan while he was engaged in the afternoon prayers in the Cathedral Mosque. The Mosque which was designed by Quli Qutub Shah was still under construction, and the old king used to inspect the construction almost every day. No sooner had the Sultan taken to prayer after issuing necessary instructions to the masons engaged in the construction, than he fell a victim to the fatal blow of Mahmud Hamdani.[1] Jamsheed jumped out of prison[2] and, with the aid of his clique, took possession of the entire machinery. He owed his phenomenal success to the quiet life of Qutbuddin; Jamsheed's henchmen forced their way into the prince's house and blinded him.[3]

Jamsheed Qutub Shah, whose original name was Yar Quli Jamsheed Khan, ascended the throne of Golcunda in

1—Qutub Shahi, p. 106.

2—Ferishta, part III, p. 168.

3—Ferishta gives a different version. He holds that nothing but the greed of kingly power stood for the patricidal crime. According to Ferishta, Jamsheed was the eldest son and was impatient to gain the throne as soon as possible because he feared that in case his father still lingered on despite his advanced age, he would be a loser. Instead of leaving the matter to the slow process of nature, he resorted to a quicker method. See Ferishta, part III, p. 168.

950 A.H. corresponding to 1543 A.D. and ruled for seven years, that is, upto 957 (1550 A.D.). His tenure of seven years is the ugliest chapter of Golcunda history and bears no semblance to the glorious reigns of the later Qutub Shahs. Although Jamsheed endeavoured to ease the tension and to appease his subjects by generous rewards, yet the reign lacked in the perfect harmony and goodwill of the people which had marked his father's rule. The reason for his unpopularity was obvious. Jamsheed waded to the throne through bloodshed. His heinous act of patricide never ceased to rouse general resentment and degrade him in the public eye. He was guilty of another murder. Mahmud Hamdani whom Jamsheed had employed as his mercenary for accomplishing his heinous design was paid in the same coin. When he reported to Jamsheed his obnoxious crime of murdering the Sultan, the latter with a view to drawing the curtain and concealing the crime, killed him with his own hand and buried his remains in a pit. The nefarious acts soon gained currency and widely circulated throughout the Kingdom. All sections of the population, high and low, lamented the murder of the venerable king and the sad plight of the crown prince, and, therefore, the accession of Jamsheed evoked no general rejoicing. It rather fanned the spirit of hatred and contempt. Even if the nobles and amirs attended the accession durbar, they did so only with utmost reluctance and weariness. The imperious attitude of Jamsheed also added fuel to the fire.[1] It may be attributed to the atmosphere in which he had passed his life. He had remained a state prisoner, and had suffered the rigours of captivity for a long time till the death of his father and, therefore, he had

1—Ferishta gives an exaggerated account and says that Jamsheed used to kill people for minor causes. See Ferishta, part III, p. 169.

developed an irritative and imperious outlook and possessed a narrow vision. History tells us that he scolded the nobles and amirs openly for trivial matters with the result that they grew weary of him.

General discontent consequently permeated the four corners of the dominions and the state dignitories grew weary of the regime and were on the lookout for overthrowing the usurper. Jamsheed's younger brother, Ibraheem had taken refuge with Malik Bareed and had invaded Golcunda with the aid of the latter. Although the invasion was reversed by the intervention of Burhan Nizam Shah, the king of Ahmednagar, and Ibraheem had to retreat, yet it paved a way for future aggression. Malik Bareed of Bidar missed no opportunity to avail of the political unrest prevailing at Golcunda and the weakness of the reigning king. He made various incursions in the territory and harassed the kingdom. Dowlat Quli was another rival whose cause was espoused by a clique. Some of his partisans were desirous of putting him on the throne. All these factors had so maligned the atmosphere of the kingdom that it promised no peace and tranquility. The dissensions and feuds thus continued for a considerable period even after his death till at last his brother, Ibraheem returned from Bijapur and donned the mantle of Kingship. The kingdom, however, remained intact. As far as the geografhical limits were concerned, there was no improvement, but there was no deterioration either. With all his defects, Jamsheed was a good soldier, though his soldiery showed signs of demoralisation under the impact of his detestable character. Whatever the morale of the army, it was either employed in quelling the internal troubles or was deployed in meeting the mutual animosities of the sovereigns of the Deccan.

The fall of the Bahmani dynasty had plunged the Deccan into darkness. It was split into five kingdoms. There ensued a period of rivalry among the Deccan kings and tangles and tussles had become rife. Jamsheed's reign is especially noted for these feuds. His first concern was to overthrow his younger brother and rival, Ibraheem, who was at Devarcunda at the time of his father's death. Ibraheem hurried to Malik Bareed, the ruler of Bidar and, much to Jamsheed's chagrin, invaded Golcunda with the former's support. The invasion was, however, frittered away by the intervention of Burhan Nizam Shah, the ruler of Ahmednagar.[1] Jamsheed was so pleased by the timely aid of the kingdom of Ahmednagar that he reciprocated his feeling of gratitude by paying a visit to Ahmednagar. He was accorded a royal welcome and was presented with honoraria, the "Chatar and Aftabgiri" and the title of "Shah". He partook of the banquets served in his honour but he declined to accept the royal titles. In reply, he composed and recited the following couplets:

مرا نیست باچتر شاهی نیاز- خطابے نخواهم به عمر دراز
که شاهان ملک دکن بالتمام-گرفتند ازاں چتر شاهی بنام
که از روے مردی و مردانگی- همان زور شمشیرو فرزانگی
ربودند گوے از سپهر دورنگ-زمیدان مردی به چوگان چنگ
چو من ضرب دست شجاعت بشاه نمایم بگیرم خطاب و کلاه
من انگه کنم چتر شاهی قبول - که گیرم ز دشمن به عون رسول

1—Ali Bin Azeezullah, Burhane-Maasir, p. 315; Abu Turab, Hadiqua, p. 86; Qutub Shahi, p. 109.

I need no canopy, nor do I aspire
For any honorific title throughout my life.
All the Deccan Kings, without an exception,
Accepted the canopy only when they,
Out of their manly valour, strength and wisdom
Had snatched away the ball of victory from
The thick of the battle after offering resistance to the foe;
I will accept the crown and title only when
I demonstrate my heroic courage before the king.
I would accept the royal canopy if I succeed in seizing
It in the battle front with the help of the Prophet.[1]

At the time when the border disputes and, especially, the disputed district of Sholapur formed a casus belli and strained the relations of Bijapur and Ahmednagar, the friendly jesture of Jamsheed became very significant for Burhan Nizam Shah. That was, probably, the reason why Shah Tahir had persuaded the kingdom of Ahmednagar to lend support to Golconda against Malik Bareed of Bidar and therefore, Jamsheed's visit to Ahmednagar evoked a rousing reception and award of honours, the motives behind all this being to strengthen the ties of union between the two kingdoms. The visit coincided with the plan of Nizam Shah to win over Imadul Mulk and to attacking Sholapur. Burhan Nizam Shah was encouraged by Jamsheed to invade Sholapur in the year 951 (1544 A.D.). Ibraheem Adil Shah who was unaware of this coalition was shocked to hear about the union of the three kingdoms. He was ill-prepared for the invasion and hence, with a view to sowing the

1—Ali Bin Azeezullah, Burhan, p. 316; Abu Turab, Hadiqua, p. 113.

seed of dissension in the mighty array, diverted his armies to Parenda, a district then in occupation of Ahmednagar. Ibraheem was, however, reinforced by Malik Bareed. A tense struggle ensued. The armies of Bijapur fought valiantly, though the scale of the fight remained even for sometime. At this juncture, Jamsheed and his armies played a decisive role. They inflicted heavy blows on the enemy. Ibraheem and Bareed flew from the battlefield in panic. As Bareed retreated towards Bidar, Jamsheed followed him on his heels and then returned to Golcunda with enormous booty. This timely help from Jamsheed brought Ahmednagar closer to Golcunda and further cemented the ties of friendship between the two kingdoms.[1]

Ali Bareed was not silenced by this defeat. He tried to wreack vengeance on the kingdom of Golcunda, more than on Ahmednagar, since he knew fully well that Jamsheed had played a major role in his reverses, nay, he had even chased him upto Bidar. Bareed had, threfore, invaded Golcunda in the year 952 (1545 A.D.). But the latter was strong enough to retaliate and, accordingly, Jamsheed, leaving the defence of the fort in the hands of his trusted generals, made his way to Bidar and swooped down upon its capital. It was an alarming situation and, therefore, Bareed hurried back to defend his own dominion and the two armies met between Patancheru and Kolpagur. It was a fierce battle. On one occasion, Jamsheed's disappearance from the scene of action, as he had alighted from his elephant, had caused confusion for a while but in the end, the armies of Golcunda won the

1—Ali Bin Azeezullah, pp. 317-18-19; Abu Turab, Hadiqua, pp. 92-93; Qutub Shahi; p. 114.

day and both the armies returned to their respective capitals.[1]

Bareed was active as ever before in spite of the successive reverses. His thirst for vengeance was further whetted and he made up his mind to break the power of Golcunda. As he had already entered into a treaty of friendship with Ibraheem Adil Shah, the king of Bijapur, he obtained the help of the latter and probably in the year 953 A.H. (1546 A.D.), forcibly occupied the fort of Medak and even collected 40 elephants and seven thousand huns in booty. Jamsheed tried his best to encounter the onslaught. He first engineered an attack on Bidar. At Kolas, he started his raids and spread devastation into various parts of the kingdom. This was designed to bring pressure on Bareed to withdraw from Medak. Consequently, Bareed marched against Jamsheed with an army of eight thousand and the two parties met near Narayankhed. A hot skirmish resulted. Jamsheed rushed forward and pierced the enemy's army at many points. It was followed by a lull and a defection on the part of Bareed's general. Ainul Mulk's son who had commanded the Bidar army joined the Qutub Shahi camp with the contingent under his command. At the same time, the famous general, Jagdeva Rao, better known as "Jagdeva Rao the Great" in histories, suggested the construction of a new fort on a suburban hill in order to strengthen the military hold on the area. The advice was followed promptly and a fort soon stood on the site. It was completed prior to the battle of Narayankhed. Jamsheed too, availing of the lull in battle, visited Kolas and inspected the fortifications. Bareed, on the other hand took advantage of the absense of the

1—Qutub Shahi, p. 114; Abu Turab, Hadiqua, pp. 94-95.

Golcunda king and launched a sudden attack on the Qutub Shahi camp. The son of Ainul Mulk who was commanding the armies on the other side had indulged in revelry in the meantime, with the consequence that his armies were taken by surprise and suffered a terrible defeat at the hand of Bareed. Ainul Mulk's son was slain and the army retreated in disgrace, as far back as Kolas. Jamsheed, however, mustered his troops again and marched to meet the enemy. The latter was ill-prepared for this determined attack and escaped to Bidar. Jamsheed then took possession of Narayankhed and Hasanabad and strengthened the garrison at Kolas Fort. He returned to the capital after leaving the whole frontier to the administrative charge of Jagdeva Rao.[1]

Bareed's recurring expeditions to Golcunda gave a genuine cause for concern and forced the kingdom to adopt stringent measures against him. On his arrival at Golcunda, Jamsheed took stock of the situation and called the attention of Burhan Nizam Shah to this grave problem. Jamsheed pointed out that the liquidation of Bareed's power was essential in the interest of both the kingdoms as also the security of the Deccan at large. Burhan endorsed the view wholeheartedly and agreed to harass Bareed from all sides and lay siege to all the adjuncts to his dominion. The plan was transformed into action in the year 953 A.H. (1546 A.D.). Burhan stormed the forts of Ausa and Udgir forthwith and Jamsheed marched from the opposite direction to Kolas. He greeted Burhan at Ausa. The meeting of the two kings was very pleasant and forged the ties of friendship between them. The next step was the invasion of Medak in pursuance of Burhan's advice. The fort was still in the hand of Bareed. The

1—Abu Turab, Hadiqua, pp. 96-97; Qutub Shahi, pp. 116-119.

siege lasted for many days and the fort fell only after a heavy loss of life. The subjugation of this fort brought much booty to Jamsheed. Imad Shah, another ally of Burhan, conquered Ausa and Udgir in the same breath. Harassed from all sides, Bareed had no alternative but to invoke the Adil Shahi help. As the king of Bijapur gave credence to the alliance as an effective instrument to checkmate Ahmednagar, he despatched a strong force of 5,000 men under the command of one of his generals, Iklas Khan for his support. Bareed was then emboldened to direct his armies to the fort of Kolas. Jamsheed had a large army to repel this offensive from the opposite direction. He arranged his army in such a way as he could command the centre in person and direct all the operations, whereas the right and left flanks were kept under able generals namely, Shaffaqat Khan, Ainul Mulk and Jagdeva Rao. It was one of the fierce battles ever fought during the reign of Jamsheed. Bareed and his lieutenant, Iklās Khan put up a bold show but were ultimately beaten by the armies of Golcunda. The credit for this victory went to Ainul Mulk and Jagdeva Rao. Bareed was disillusioned and he escaped to Bidar in deep regret and frustration. Jamsheed was lucky enough to collect large spoils before he returned to Golcunda.[1] Although the battle of Kolas had decisively turned the scale in favour of Jamsheed, yet it was no guarantee for a permanent peace. Jamsheed would not rest content until his adversary was completely routed. In fact, the timely aid of Ibraheem had saved the face of Bareed, as otherwise the battle of 1546 A.D. would have been enough to seal the fate of Bidar for ever. When Jamsheed assessed the future prospects, he came to the conclusion that the liquidation of Bidar was depen-

1—Tarikh-e-Qutub Shahi, pp. 121-122; Abu Turab, Hadiqua, p. 98.

dent on the isolation of Bijapur. Burhan Nizam Shah was called upon to give his wise counsel on the issue. It was decided that Burhan should take up this matter with Ibraheem Adil Shah, since the relations between those two kingdoms had not yet degenerated into a complete rupture. Burhan wrote a letter to Ibraheem Adil forthwith, showing him the gravity of the situation, that is, the daredevilry of Bareed that had constituted a standing menance to the political security of the Deccan and the devastating wars that were causing general massacre of innocent people. Burhan was advised to make a common cause against Bareed and strangle him to death. Ibraheem agreed to the proposal and came over to their side, leaving Bareed in the lurch. Nizam Shah was required to storm the strong fort of Khandhar, and Ibraheem was instructed to march against the southern kingdom of Vijayanagar and occupy as much of its territory as possible. Thus the year 945 (1547 A.D.), witnessed the confederacy of the three sovereigns of the Deccan for a common cause. Burhan rushed his army and captured Khandhar. Bareed became apprehensive and hastened towards Bijapur for help. But Ibraheem would not listen to his overtures because of his ugly record and mean tactics. He arrested him at Bijapur, and then he advanced towards Vijayanagar and captured several forts.[1]

In the meantime, however, the longstanding rivalry between Ahmednagar and Bijapur revived. Burhan read danger in the increasing conquests at Vijayanagar and planned for its immediate check. With this end in view, he invaded Sholapur and consequently, Ibraheem withdrew from Vijayanagar and hurried to defend the aforesaid part of his dominion. It was again a complicated situation and both the

1—Abu Turab, Hadiqua, p. 100; Qutub Shahi, pp. 123-125.

powers, Ahmednagar and Bijapur, appealed to Jamsheed for help. Bareed too made entreats to Jamsheed to effect his release. But the latter was on the horns of a dilemma about the future course of action. He could not sacrifice his old alliance with Bijapur. But Jamsheed was moved by the humble entreats of Bareed and endeavoured to effect his release. For this purpose, he employed a mean trick and told the emissary of Bijapur that his help was conditioned by Bareed's release. Ibraheem fell into the trap and set Bareed free. Th grant of freedom to Bareed was followed by an immediate demand for help. Jamsheed was advised by all the nobles and dignitaries of the kingdom to disown the allies and return to Golcunda with Bareed. This advice was followed promptly and Jamsheed diverted his armies towards Golcunda. On his way to Golcunda, he stayed for some days at Bidar, where Bareed accorded him a warm reception in acknowledgement of the guest's timely help and offered him precious jewels and costly gifts. Jamsheed distributed the gifts among his servants before he returned to Golcunda. This was the last scene of the drama of inter-state blood feuds. The mutual jealousies of the Deccan sovereigns wrecked the whole plan, with the result that neither the kingdom of Bidar was liquidated, nor were the territories of Vijayanagar conquered. On the contrary, a bloody war was waged at Sholapur.[1]

1—In giving an account of this fact, Ferishta indulges in a great exaggeration. According to him, Jamsheed had attacked Bijapur with a view to helping Ahmednagar and had constructed a fort in the Kokan area. Ibrahim, after effecting an alliance with Burhan and Ramraj, the Raja of Vijayanagar, faced Jamsheed and defeated him. The famous general of Bijapur, Asad Khan Lari had chased Jamsheed upto the walls of Golcunda. Jamsheed

(Continued on p. 42)

Jamsheed spent two or three years in peace after the strenuous engagements of 4 or 5 years. But this too proved to be short-lived and he soon fell a victim to a fatal disease, either consumption according to Ferishta, or cancer, according to Qutub Shahi. Any way, it proved fatal and claimed his death in 957 (1550 A.D.). Jamsheed had reigned for a short term of seven years and he was laid to rest in the royal cemetery beside Sultan Quli Qutub Shah. His tomb stands to this day as a unique piece of architecture.[1]

It is very difficult to give a correct estimate of Jamsheed's character and achievement. His good qualities and deeds are over-shadowed by his heinous acts which he had committed in his craze to capture the throne. Despite all his weakness, he was not devoid of good qualities. His military dash and courage were of a very high order. A valiant fighter himself, he always met the enemy at the fore front and always returned victorious. Excepting the single incident at Narayankhed, he was ever triumphant and the Deccan sovereigns always beseeched his help. This was his pride of place and when Burhan wanted to shower praises and honours on him, he had refused and said, "his chivalry and courage were the ornaments that he priced above all." Besides, Jamsheed was a man of letters and also wrote poetry.

(Continued from p. 41)
was wounded and his lips were cut, rendering him unable to eat anything. That was the reason why Jamsheed did not take his food before others. But all this narration is not supported by other histories on Golcunda. This appears to be an exaggeration by way of eulogising Bijapur and Asad Khan Lari. (see Ferishta, p. 169). See also Abu Turab, Hadiqua, pp. 101. 102; QutubShahi, p. 127.

1—Ferishta, part III, p. 169; Abu Turab, Hdiqua, p. 109; Qutub Shahi, p. 128.

Part II

The Kingdom : Its Consolidation

CHAPTER IV

THE NEW ERA

The Kingdom entered a new era in the reign of Ibraheem Qutub Shah, the fourth King of the dynasty. Abul Muzaffar Ibraheem Qutub Shah, popularly known as Malikibharam in Telangana was born in May 1530 and ascended the throne in 957 A.H. (1550 A.D.). He was the real architect of the Qutub Shahi Kingdom. The Kingdom was still in the making and it was he who developed and consolidated it. But his early life since his father's death was rather eventful. He was one of those heroes of history who had to pass through many ordeals before they succeeded in achieving their cherished object of life. His princely career was marked by constant struggles. When the founder, Sultan Quli died, the whole kingdom was thrown into chaos by the selfish motives of his successors. The central and provincial governments were put out of gear, and the administration was on the verge of collapse. The happy association of the kings and their Andhra subjects that happened to be the cherished ideal of his predecessors was completely broken. Ibraheem suffered most from this uneasy situation. He was ultimately forced to leave his home and seek shelter in a foreign country. Yet, his struggle against the heavy odds and his ultimate success in seizing the government of Golcunda make a thrilling episode of the Qutub Shahi history. Had he failed to regain his father's

throne, the budding kingdom would have ended abruptly and would have left no room for the political and cultural glories that the kingdom had later achieved during the span of two hundred years.

Ibraheem, the sixth and the youngest son of Sultan Quli Qutub Shah was born in May 1530 A.D. (936 A.H.).[1] He was the ablest among all his brothers. Unlike his brothers, he possessed strength of character and serenity of mind and he scrupulously observed filial obligations towards his father. It was his noble heart that had distinguished him from his brothers who were always on the look-out for every opportunity to usurp the throne. As Ibraheem showed signs of celebrity and exaltation, Sultan Quli took special care of his mental and moral training and entrusted to him the administration of a district. During the last days of his father, Ibraheem was posted at Devarcunda to maintain law and order. Being a newly conquered territory, it was turbulent and required a vigilant control. It is not possible to ascertain the exact date of Ibraheem's appointment in that district, but it is probable that he had attained majority before he was entrusted with that responsible post.[2] The administrative capability which he displayed at Devarcunda, bears a positive testimony to the fact that he was capable, both physically and mentally, and quite competent to discharge the onerous duties that were assigned to him. His flight to Bijapur and then to Vijayanagar after his father's death is a further proof of his unruffled mind. He faced the

1—Qutub Shahi, p. 92.

2—Qutub Shahi tells us that Ibraheem was a minor at the time of this appointment. Qutub Shahi, p. 133. According to this historian, Ibraheem was nearly thirteen at the time of his father's death, being born in 1530.

situation in a manner that forestalled his success to get the throne. His personal charm and sincerity of purpose had endeared him to a good number of followers who had devoted their lives for his cause even in his sad plight and privation. He also commanded wide popularity among the people of Golcunda. When Ibraheem proceeded towards Golcunda after the death of his brother, streams of people were seen approaching him at every stage and, as a consequence, the number of his followers grew day by day. His accession to the throne is a remarkable event of the Deccan history as it was accomplished with no bloodshed, despite the opposition on the part of his adversaries.

It has already been noticed in the previous Chapter that Jamsheed was the real cause of the whole trouble. Although his own forethoughts had impelled him to resort to the ugly crime of patricide and the seizure of throne in 1543 (950 A.H.), yet, the kingdom so usurped did not prove to be a bed of roses. He had to face many a trouble before he was assured of his undisputed authority. On the one hand, he had to appease his discontented subjects who depricated his ugly deeds with extreme sense of contempt and horror, and on the other, he had to get rid of all the rivals who claimed the throne for themselves. Doulat Quli and Ibraheem were the two rivals, with better claims and stronger backing. The presence of the former at Bhongir constituted an immediate danger. The latter, on the other hand, was not only free to move about but was also held in great esteem by the Golcunda subjects as the rightful successor to the throne by virtue of his personal charm and merits. But he was far beyond the reach of the central government and therefore the only alternative left for Jamsheed was to

invite him to Golcunda treacherously and put him in confinement.[1]

Ibraheem was too shrewd to be out-witted by his brother. He was fully aware of such tactics and knew the future that was in store for him if he ever acceded to the wishes of his brother. He realized that his safety lay in his flight from Devarcunda in order to get a footing outside the kingdom. He consulted with his trusted followers, Hameed Khan Habshi, Syedji Silahdar, Dilawar Khan and Kamaji Brahmin who had followed him in every trial and were prepared to suffer any privation for the sake of the prince. It may be true to say that Ibraheem owed his future career entirely to the help and loyal co-operation of his followers. They advised him to proceed to Bidar for safety as well as for the future course of action. Accordingly, Ibraheem went to Bidar where he was cordially welcomed by Ali Bareed and was assured of all possible help. We know that Bareed, like his predecessor, was a cunning ruler of the Deccan who had created dissensions amongst the Decan kings in his self-interest. The Bareed Shahi Kingdom of Bidar was too weak to withstand her powerful neighbours unless their energy was diverted and dissipated by mutual jealousies. It was for this reason that Ali Bareed extended his helping hand to Ibraheem and offered his services to support his cause. An expedition was accordingly rushed to Golcunda in 1543.[2]

The expedition met with no resistance till it reached the vicinity of the Golcunda fort. The invaders laid siege to the fort and a fight ensued. The contest continued for

1—Qutub Shahi, p. 107.

2—Abu Turab, Hadiquatul Alam, p. 86; Qutub Shahi, p. 108; Ali Bin Azeezullah, Burhan, p. 314.

some time and the losses were equally shared by both the parties. It appears that Jamsheed did not receive whole-hearted co-operation from his army owing, obviously, to his unpopularity with the nation. Had he not received a prompt reinforcement from Ahmednagar at this juncture, he would have lost his throne. Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmednagar was advised by his political adviser, Shah Tahir to despatch a military expedition to Golcunda forthwith in order to avoid the growing danger of Bareed. Consequently, the Nizam Shahi army advanced upto Kohir. It not only laid siege to the fort of the district, but it also threatened Bidar, the Bareed Shahi capital. Bareed was unnerved by the sudden turn of events and was forced to raise the siege, with the result that Golcunda was relieved of the danger. But the worst part of the episode was that Bareed, while returning to Bidar, carried away Ibraheem's elephants, horses and other war equipments regardless of any moral decency or obligation.[1]

At the very instant when Ibraheem was defeated outside the walls of Golcunda and was thus cheated by Bareed, he made up his mind to take shelter at Vijayanagar which offered him an asylum, safer than Ahmednagar and Bijapur. The former kingdom, being under the influence of Shah Tahir, was in close alliance with Jamsheed and the latter lay at a great distance. Ibraheem's elder brother, Abdul Karim who had attempted a rebellion against his father from within the Adil Shahi territory could not be of any avail. In these circumstances, Ibraheem and his companions had no alternative but to flee to the South of the Tungabhadra. The

1—Qutub Shahi p. 109; Abu Turab, p. 87; Ali Bin Azizullah, Burhan, p. 315.

Vijayanagar Empire which had come into existence some two centuries ago was still quite powerful. The Empire was ruled over by Ram Raj who had started his career as a minister but had now made himself the de facto master of the Empire. Muslim historians of the Deccan call him Roy Azam, the Great Raja. The Qutub Shahi Historian asserts that Ram Raj was a feudatory of Sultan Quli Qutub Shah and held a Jagir assignment in Golcunda territory.[1] If this statement is correct, it may be presumed that Ram Raj was not unfamiliar with the Qutub Shahi prince and, therefore, the prince and his companions were justified in making their way to Vijayanagar.

The flight was well planned, but the passage through which the fugitives had to pass to the Vijayanagar capital was not free from danger. They were pursued by the Golcunda army which was anxious to overtake the rival at any cost, because his escape constituted a serious threat to Jamsheed. Hot though the pursuit was, Ibraheem and his party managed to escape safely. But, as they were crossing the Tungabhadra, they met with another foe, namely, a gang of robbers who had their abode in the river valley. The gang was led by Narayan Mama Pandit who enjoyed a semi-independent position on the border of the two Kingdoms. He blocked the passages leading to Vijayanagar at the instigation of the Golcunda Government and communicated necessary information to Jamsheed. Jamsheed sent to him, by way of reward, five thousand huns and a royal investiture through Taghrash Khan, the brother of Habeeb Khan. One elephant and two thousand horses were also despatched to reinforce him. The prince and his party found themselves

1—Qutbia, p. 56; Qutub Shahi, p. 109.

in troubled waters and Hameed Khan and Syedji had no alternative but to communicate the state of affairs to Ram Raj on the other side of the river and appeal to him for help. The latter responded to the appeal promptly and ordered Narayan to cease his hostile activities against the prince. The warning had its desired effect and the prince, with his party, succeeded in crossing the river and thus reached the capital of Vijayanagar where he was cordially received by the Raja. The reception was so hearty that some of the leading officers of the State, including the princes of royal blood, were sent forward to meet the prince and conduct him to the city, where he was received by Ram Raj himself and was seated on the throne by the side of the Raja.[1] This unexpected reception may well be attributed to political motives.

Ibraheem was forced to remain in exile at Vijayanagar for seven years till such time as his brother Jamsheed died. Dreary though the prolonged exile was, it nevertheless played an important part in moulding the future career of the prince. Vijayanagar, as a matter of fact, served a double purpose: it was not only an asylum but also served as a training ground for the prince. It was at Vijayanagar that Ibraheem could breathe a sigh of repose and explored the ways and means for his future plan and action; again, it was there alone that he availed of the opportunity of acquiring sufficient administrative experience. Vijayanagar was undoubtedly the most civilized and well-administered kingdom which never ceased to rouse the curiosity and even evoke the admiration of the Bahmani kings. Ferishta maintains that Mujahid Shah and other Bahmani kings had longed to have a view of the

1—Qutub Shahi, p. 111; Abu Turab, p. 87; Ferishta, part III, p. 170.

glories of Vijayanagar;[1] as such, the Southern Kingdom must have greatly inspired the Qutub Shahi prince.

The death of Jamsheed Qutub Shah that occurred in 957 A.H. (1550 A.D.) plunged the kingdom into chaos. The political order which was, somehow, maintained by the late king was greatly disrupted. The dowager queen, Bilqees Zaman, rose to the occasion and, with the help of a foreign clique, made her utmost efforts to raise her son, Subhan Quli to the throne. The foreign clique which had lent its support to the queen on this occasion comprised, according to Ferishta, Mustafa Khan Ardistani, Salabat Khan the Turk, and a few others. But, unfortunately, the prince who was nominated to be the future king of Golcunda, was a young boy of seven and according to Ferishta,[2] was a babe-in-arms of two years only. The latter statement may not be correct but even a boy of seven was too young to hold the office of kingship and, therefore, his accession evoked no happy response from the Deccani party. Subhan Quli was, however, raised to the throne and with a view to conducting the state administration during the boy king's minority, the queen called for Saif Khan Ainul Mulk from Ahmednagar to assume the reins of the Government. The latter, who was most probably a scion of the Qutub Shahi royal family and, owing to his dignified position, exercised a great influence, had been forced to leave his own kingdom for Ahmednagar during the unfriendly reign of Jamsheed. But at this juncture, he was recognized by the dowager queen to be the fittest person to conduct the state administration as smoothly as ever before.[3]

1—Ferishta, p. 297.
2—Ferishta, part III, p. 170.
3—Qutub Shahi, p. 130.

It, however, appears that the nomination of Subhan Quli in preference to other abler candidates was unwelcome to the Golcunda people in general, who had looked upon the palace activities with growing suspicion and apprehension. Faithful persons like Jagdev Rao, Jagpat Rao, Bahri Khan and Jumlatul Mulk formed an independent faction of their own, entirely opposed to the selection of the minor king. They were even determined to solve the problem of succession in a different way and thus choose a more capable candidate to wield the royal sceptre. Jagdev Rao who held a very prominent place in the loyalist party, had nominated Doulat Quli as the rightful heir and persuaded some of his followers to support him. Doulat Quli, being older than Ibraheem Quli might have been a better choice for he was fully grown up and being confined in the Bhongir fort, was quite near to the Capital, yet he was far inferior to his younger brother, Ibraheem in respect of his intellectual and administrative attainments which the latter had gained since his young age. It was very unfortunate that Jagdev Rao and his colleagues had upheld the cause of Doulat Quli and thereby adopted an imprudent policy which foreshadowed an ugly civil war. The plan was sure to meet with stiff resistance from Subhan Quli and his partisans. Jagdev and his party took advantage of the favourable opportunity of Saif Khan's absence, for he was still awaited, and they consequently marched towards Bhongir and, having prevailed on the fort garrison and the Naikwaries, liberated the captive prince and proclaimed him as the future king of Golcunda there and then. Jagdev also took possession of some of the neighbouring forts and collected necessary material to strengthen his hands against Saif Khan who had reached Golcunda in the meantime.[1]

1—Qutub Shahi, p. 131; Abu Turab, Hadiquatul Alam, p. 111.

The latter, however, lost no time in raising a strong army and making rapid strides to Bhongir with all the strength that he had at his disposal. Jagdev was no match to the Central power which now advanced towards Bhongir. He was, therefore, forced to implore the neighbouring Kingdom of the Imadshahs for help. The latter Kingdom, in response to the urgent call, took the earliest opportunity to send a reinforcement under Tafal Khan, their famous general of the time. But, Saif Khan took still prompter action and tried to check Tafal Khan in the North-East so that he might not advance any further and strengthen Jagdev. He surprised Tafal Khan at Sangram[1] and offered him a stiff resistance which, in the words of the Qutub Shahi Historian, "was the biggest war ever recorded during the reigns of great kings".[2] Tafal Khan sustained a heavy defeat and was forced to take to flight towards Bhongir. He was pursued by Saif Khan who ultimately laid siege to the fort. The action, however, proved very unfavourable to the besiegers in the beginning for the reason that the routed army of Tafal Khan was also posted there at the top of the Fort hill, commanding a strong position to inflict heavy damages on the besiegers and, consequently, Saif Khan was forced to sue for peace. If the terms offered were accepted by Jagdev, the Golcunda history would have taken a different course. It was rather foolish on the part of Jagdev to reject the peace offer; the result was that the siege was tightened to the extent that, in course of time, the supply broke down and the garrison was forced to surrender. They

1—Shangram is a village situated at a distance of 7 miles to the South of the present Karimnagar District in the State of Hyderabad. The village is surrounded by hills.

2—Qutub Shahi, p. 131.

ultimately opened the gates of the fort and begged for amnesty. Doulat was again put into prison as ever before and Jagdev was brought to Golcunda in chains.[1]

The victory of Ainul Mulk at Bhongir comprised a momentary triumph. Although it helped in terminating a civil war, yet, subsequent events reversed the situaion and made the position of Ainul Mulk untenable. Elated by his victory and power, he behaved arrogantly with the dignitaries of the State after he returned from Bhongir triumphantly and assumed the reins of the government. The change of attitude alienated the sympathy of the Golcunda people. The nobility looked forward to welcome Ibraheem Qutub Shah ascending the Golcunda throne. Troubles brewed every day and the lower classes too ran riots. They entered the royal palace and damaged the royal property. It threatened anarchy and even collapse of the established order. Mustafa Khan and Salabat Khan who had raised Subhan Quli to the throne and expected the new government as orderly as ever before, lost their faith and focussed their attention on Ibraheem as the saviour of Golcunda. There was a consensus of opinion that no candidate except Ibraheem could acquit himself worthily in the kingly office at this juncture and, therefore, Mustafa Khan and Salabat Khan lost no time to send their felicitations to the prince. The dissenting group which threw its lot with Ibraheem was strengthened rapidly by more and more people. No wonder, then, that in a few days a large number of petitions were addressed to Ibraheem. The petitions appealed to the prince in unequivocal terms that Golcunda was in a ferment under the boy king, Subhan Quli and that Saif Khan Ainul Mulk had exhausted the patience

1—Abu Turab, Hadiqatul Alam, p. 112; Qutub Shahi, p. 132.

of the Golcunda nobility and gentry by his rude and arrogant behaviour, and that the unseemly struggle between Ainul Mulk and Jagdev Rao threatened a civil commotion. And, therefore, they requested the prince to rush to Golcunda and assume the reins of the government at once.[1] It is curious to note that the political movement set on foot by the patriotic party at the Centre also transmitted its echo to other parts of the country. Long before Ibraheem started his journey from Vijayanagar, the people of Koilcunda joined hands to lend their support to Ibraheem.[2] The political movement in the far flung district not only reflected the political consciousness of the people but also indicated the esteem and regard in which Ibraheem was held as also the manner in which he was preferred to the other claimants to the throne. Ibraheem's march towards Pangal and Koilcunda foreshadowed his future success. It was at Koilcunda that the prince was assured of the growing strength which had gathered in his favour and thus he planned to march to Golcunda with full confidence to seize the throne. It was almost miraculous that the prince, in his return journey, found himself in a more favourable atmosphere than he could ever expect. The obstacles

1—Qutub Shahi, p. 133.

2—Koilcunda lies at a distance of fourteen miles to the South-West of Mahboobnagar in Hyderabad State. The Telugu inscription which was discovered and deciphered some 25 years ago clearly illustrates the efforts made by local people to help prince Ibraheem at this time. The inscription gives two names, Peru Mian and Syed Ali Mian who spared no time to make a holy alliance, including the soldiers and officers of the fort, to pledge their support to Ibraheem and not to Subhan Quli. When the ground was so prepared, they invited prince Ibraheem to Koilcunda. Report of the Department of Archaeology, Hyderabad, (1928). See Qutub Shahi, p. 135.

that stalked his progress at every stage were removed from his path one by one and made his march to Golcunda very smooth. When Ibraheem had made his flight to Vijayanagar, he had hardly dreamt of the happy turn of events which had now taken place to his advantage. Had Jamsheed lived longer, Ibraheem would have lost all chances of his ascendancy. That was the reason why Ram Raj had dissuaded the prince from taking the risk that attended the hazardous journey. But, when the Qutub Shahi party was determined to march on, he offered a big escort of ten thousand cavalry and twenty thousand infantry to conduct the prince to Golcunda. Even this offer was rejected and the party preferred to rely on its own meagre resources at its disposal and embarked on its journey.[1]

Pangal was the first halt after Vijayanagar and, being a border town of the Qutub Shahi dominion, served as an intelligence centre from where messages were exchanged. The happy news of the prince's advent in the territory of Golcunda spread like wild-fire and streams of people flocked to welcome him as if he was eagerly awaited.[2] It was here that the prince and his followers took stock of the whole political situation as it existed from one end of the Kingdom to the other and received assurances of help from the Golcunda people. It was only here that Ibraheem was apprised of the unexpected help of Koilcunda. In a few days, the prince received three thousand cavalry and five thousand infantry to serve under him in every eventuality. Mustafa Khan and Salabat Khan also approached him with an army of three

1—Qutub Shahi, p. 133-134; Abu Turab, Hadiqua, p. 113.

2—Qutub Shahi, p. 135.

thousand men,[1] followed by a number of Golcunda noblemen. Thus Ibraheem's following rose to seven thousand.

Assured of further success, the Qutub Shahi party reached Koilcunda. There is every reason to believe that the fort of Koilcunda was intended to serve as a Southern stronghold against foreign invasions, especially from Vijayanagar which was always considered to be an unfriendly neighbour. Though it appeared to be a fortified village, it nevertheless played an important role in moulding the future course of Ibraheem Qutub Shah. The garrison comprising both Hindu and Muslim soldiers and officers (Naikwaris) who had manned the fort, threw their lot with the prince. They made the atmosphere so congenial that Koilcunda became a base wherefrom they could launch an offensive. It was likely to serve as a strong base if Ibraheem's progress was retarded at Golcunda. It was for this reason that Ibraheem stayed there for two months and gathered strength. A strong cavalry consisting mostly of Golcunda nobility, joined him.[2] It was natural that the Central Government should have been alarmed by the strength of

1—Ferishta speaks of Mustafa Khan as the first to meet the prince within Golcunda limits and the latter appointed him as Meer Jumla in recognition of his meritorious services. It was through the noble efforts of Mustafa Khan that Golcunda subjects agreed to pay their homage to Ibraheem. He borrowed cash of two lac huns from Hindu merchants to meet the expenses (Ferishta, Part III, p. 170). Ferishta may be partly right in his statement that Mustafa Khan met the prince at Pangal and helped him with money and men, but his contention that Ibraheem's success was exclusively due to Mustafa Khan does not seem to be correct. The charming personality and the enormous influence that the prince commanded cannot be overlooked.

2—Qutub Shah, p. 135.

Ibraheem Qutub Shah and his imminent march to Golcunda. The bulk of the population that had hitherto paid homage to Subhan Quli and Ainul Mulk was now eager to welcome Ibraheem Qutub Shah with open arms. It was an appalling situation that compelled Ainul Mulk to make necessary preparations for defence. He led a big army with Khudawand Khan Habshi, Alam Khan, Sanjar Khan, Makbool Khan and Taj Khan, whereas Bahri Khan, Jagpat Rao, Haji Khan Sarnaubat and Ikhlas Khan Hubshi were posted at Golcunda to look after the Central Government in the minister's absence. The army proceeded as far as Ghanpura and no sooner did it reach there than it heard the disquieting news of an insurrection at Golcunda. All the Golcunda Naikwaris had joined hands to lend their support to Ibraheem and they had conveyed their message of good will to the prince and assured him of their support provided Jagdev Rao was set free. They released Jagdev Rao and put to sword the officers who had espoused the cause of Subhan Quli and their dead bodies raised on lances, were paraded in the city. Even Subhan was put into confinement and the treasury was taken over. Ainul Mulk who was sandwitched between two hostile camps, found it hard to make both ends meet. He found himself in a miserable position, with no alternative but either to take to flight or to come to terms with Ibraheem. He resorted to the latter course but in vain.[1] His apologizing petition to the prince was rejected outright because the latter was fully aware of

1—Tazkeratul Mulook by Khafi states that Ainul Mulk had marched upto Koilcunda and had laid siege to the fort, but he soon left the Qutub Shahi territory via Kolas along with five thousand cavalry when he was alarmed by the adverse news of the Golcunda plot (Khafi, p. 139). Qutub Shahi, on the other

(Continued on p. 60)

his divided loyalty. "The request of Ainul Mulk was in no way genuine and was based on hypocrisy, not emanating from his heart".[1] "He was allowed no access and, on the contrary, he was ordered to remain at his own place and wait for the royal procession." It was certainly a disquieting reply for Ainul Mulk who saw no alternative but to quit the Qutub Shahi limits as early as possible as he feared vindictive reaction from the prince. He left the Kingdom with the five thousand cavalry that he had commanded and most probably settled in Berar. Although Ainul Mulk's flight signified a great loss in men and material, yet it was not without its advantages. It helped in removing a great obstacle. Ainul Mulk was the only obstacle in the way of Ibraheem which was likely to cause bloodshed somewhere or other in the course of his march to Golcunda. And Jagdev Rao, who had behaved disloyally after Ibraheem's accession did not create any problem. He was easily crushed. When Ameen Khan Dabeer hurried to Koilcunda and reported to the prince the political commotion and the flight of Ainul Mulk, Ibraheem set out towards Golcunda.[2]

Ibraheem Qutub Shah who was eagerly awaited by his subjects, proceeded to Golcunda without any difficulty and was accorded hearty reception at every stage. Ever since he came down to Pangal and the news of his arrival had

(Continued from p. 59)

hand, asserts that he did not succeed in forging his march to Koilcunda, and he had despatched his application to Ibraheem from Ghanpura. Qutub Shahi, p. 137.

1—Tarikhe Qutbia, p. 76; Qutub Shahi p. 137.

استدعائے عین الملک از صمیم قلب نہ بود

2—Tarikhe Qutbia, p. 77; Abu Turab, Hadiqua, p. 144; Qutub Shahi pp. 137-138.

spread far and wide, his subjects were filled with joy and were impatient to accord him a hearty welcome. It was certainly a memorable occasion that the rightful heir of the Qutub Shahi dynasty succeeded in seizing his ancestral throne after a dreary exile of seven years, that too, at a time when his presence was earnestly needed. As the procession approached nearer the fort, he was cheered by the masses and was welcomed by the grandees of the State who had waited for him outside the fort. Jagdev Rao and other Naikwaries approached him with the keys and implored him to enter the fort. The accession took place on 12th Rajab, 957 A.H. (1550 A.D.)—a memorable event which augured well for the future of the Kingdom. The accession of Ibraheem heralded a happy and prosperous era with all its moral and material progress necessary for the consolidation of the Kingdom. Had Ibraheem failed in his attempt to seize his ancestral throne, the Kingdom would have not only been deprived of future progress but it would also have collapsed sooner or later. Those who were loyal to Ibraheem were duly awarded with cash and jagir assignments and twelve thousand huns were distributed among the poor to com-

بیا که رایت منصور بادشاه رسید
نوید فتح و بشارت به مهر و ماه رسید
جمال بخت ز روئے ظفر نقاب انداخت
کمال عدل به فریاد داد خواه رسید

1—Ferishta, part III, p. 170; Abu Turab, Hadiqua, pp. 115-116.

"Behold, the victorious standards of the king have arrived and happy
Tidings of victory have spread upto the Sun and the Moon.
Smiling fortune has lifted the veil from the face of victory,
Lo! Justice herself has come to respond to the call of Justice-Seekers."[1]

1—Qutub Shahi, p. 135.

CHAPTER V

POLITICAL ORGANISATION

The accession of Ibraheem Qutub Shah ushered in a more vigorous reign than those of his predecessors, both in domestic and in foreign politics. However, when Ibraheem assumed the reins of government, the Kingdom was still in the making. Sultan Quli Qutub Shah who had ruled for over sixty years, both as a governor and as an independent ruler, could not establish the administration on a sound basis. He was more a conqueror than an organizer. Moreover, to organize a big kingdom like that of Golcunda which stretched from Kohir right up to Masulipatam was not an easy task. His immediate successor, Jamsheed had wasted his time either in court intrigues or in his foreign entanglements and, consequently, the organization of the central and provincial structure of government remained in abeyance till the Kingdom devolved on Ibraheem. The central government, being in a preliminary stage, had little control over the local units. Most of the districts that were lately annexed were restive and highway-robbery was rampant. The whole Andhra country was infamous for highway-robbers who were skilled in their criminal profession and had endangered the life and property of travellers.[1] He put them all under

1—Abu Turab, Hadiqatul Alam, pp. 116-200; Qutub Shahi p. 231;
ولایت تلنگ کہ پراز دزدو حرامی بود -
مردم تلنگانہ درفن دزدی ازرهزنان ممالک دیگر ممتازند
Ali Bin Azizullah, Burhan, p. 528.

restraint and severely curbed their activities. From the very beginning since Ibraheem mounted the throne, he paid earnest attention to the onerous task of political organization which necessitates political acumen and pronounced experience. Although Ibraheem was only twenty-four at the time of his accession, he possessed political vision and sagacity which go to make a successful king. He took personal interest in State business and disposed it of very smoothly.[1] He had been in contact with state administration from his early life and he had most probably learnt the technique of administration at Vijayanagar. The Qutub Shahi historian goes so far as to say that the experience and skill displayed by Ibraheem in the conduct of state administration had no parallel in history.[2] Rafiuddin Shirazi who had twice come in personal contact with Ibraheem Qutub Shah, for the first time as a merchant and for the second as an envoy of Bijapur, speaks of him in high terms. He marked in Ibraheem "a unique power of organization and a high sense of discipline and royal prestige." "Even the mighty kings who possess big empires", says Shirazi, "lack in these merits."[3] A later historian says that Ibraheem held a distinguished place among the kings of the time, both in regard to the direction of state business and the administration of justice.[4] According to Ali Bin Azeezullah, Ibraheem, in the application

1—Qutub Shahi, p. 231.

چوں خود منغرد کار فرمایند بہ اسہل وجہے ازپیش می برد

2—Ibid. p. 231.

3—Shirazi, Rafiuddin, Tazkiratul Muluk, leaf 61, Asafia Library, Hyderabad.

4—Abu Turab, Hadiqatul Alam, p. 199.

of law and dispension of justice, was a standing example for all the kings of the world.[1]

After a few days of his assuming the reins of government, Ibraheem put his shoulder to the wheel of administration. To quote the Qutub Shahi history, he hurriedly concluded the court celebrations that were being held in honour of his accession, and threw himself heart and soul to systematise the administration and to mould it according to the requirements of the time. His first step in this direction was to issue urgent orders to all the local officers, both civil and military, to perform their respective duties conscientiously. Some of the old incumbents were replaced by reliable and effiicient persons both at the centre and in the local units. Able persons like Mustafa Khan, Mujahid Khan, Amirul Mulk and Hameed Khan were entrusted with responsible functions at the centre. The former two held the premiership and war-ministership respectively. The local administation was in sore need of re-orientation. Trusted officers were posted in various districts to look after the local sections of government. Yet, the intricate problem was to make the local machinery responsive to the central government. Ibraheem introduced a new intelligence service to keep the king, as also his ministers, in touch with the subjects and officers of the local units. A large number of reporters and detectives were posted throughout the length and breadth of the Kingdom who had to convey local news to the centre. The department worked so efficiently that the central government was kept fully informed of even minute details of whatever happened in every nook and corner of the kingdom to the extent that, according to the Qutub Shahi Historian,

1—Ali Bin Azizullah, Burhane-Maasir, p. 528.

the King knew even the private talks between a husband and wife which they could have in their bed-room.[1] Ibraheem, was the first ruler to establish a detective department and a spy-ring in the Deccan.

Ibraheem raised the level of efficiency by appointing notable personalities at the centre. Mustafa Khan Ardestani was a person who figured most prominently in the reign. He was at first entrusted with the post of Meer Jumla and, some days later, when the king was pleased with his efficiency, he was promoted to premiership in 1563 (971 A.H.). He was consulted in all state affairs, both internal and external. He was honoured with many distinctions. He was even married to the King's sister and, but for the blunder committed by him after the battle of Talicota, he would have continued as peshwa of the state throughout the reign.[2] Rafat Khan Lari was another notable person who was appointed as Malik Naib, in which capacity he had annexed the important districts of Andhra like Rajahmandry and Ellore and extended the Kingdom much further.

1—Qutub Shahi, p. 231; Abu Turab, Hadiqua, p. 199.

2—Mustafa Ardestani was one of the three officers who were sent to Vijayanagar to conclude the conquest after the battle of Talikota. Moulana Inayatulla and Kishwar Khan were commissioned by Husain Nizam Shah and Ali Adil Shah respectively. Mustafa Khan captured the Forts of Raichur, Mudgal, Otangri and Takri as desired, but he had entrusted the keys of the forts to Kishwar Khan which ran counter to the policy of the allied powers. This indiscreet action was resented to by both Ibraheem Qutub Shah and Husain Nizam Shah and, therefore, he was dismissed by the former at the instance of the latter. Mustafa Khan joined the Adil Shahi service thereafter but was again dismissed after the death of Ali Adil Shah.
See Qutub Shahi, pp. 181-182.

Ameer Shah Mohamed Anju who held the post of Commander of the Army was another of the big officials. He had also led some expeditions in Andhra. Husain Baig Turkman who was related to the royal family, held a responsible position in the militia. Hazrat Husain Shah Wali who was the son-in-law of the King, also figured in the higher stratum of government. He supervised the Public Works Department and had many an engineering enterprise to his credit.

Ibraheem's role as an administrator of justice is equally creditable. The Qutub Shahi historians assert that Ibraheem took to the reform of the judicial system as earnestly as of the other sections of civil administration. His chief aim was to organise the police and the judiciary in a manner as to ensure pefect peace and tranquility in the Kingdom. No country can justify its existence without guaranteeing the security of life and the prosperity of its citizens. Ibraheem appointed police officers and magistrates in all parts of the Kingdom who discharged their duties efficiently. These officers were given full instructions to keep their watchful eye on all criminal outrages, thefts and dacoities and to deal with them with an iron hand. The robbers were subjected to painful corporal punishments such as caning and extraction of nails. The nails so extracted had to be brought to the king.[1] A very harsh measure though it appears, it went a long way in restoring the peace and in maintaining order throughout the country. Ibraheem is sometimes said to be an oppressor and a tyrant. But the perfect peace and tranquility that prevailed throughout his Kingdom leave no room for doubt that the harsh measures so rigorously applied

1—Qutub Shahi, pp. 139-231; Abu Turab, Hadiqua, p. 199; Ali bin Azizullah, Burhan, p. 528.

were perfectly justified. Theft and robbery were so eradicated that no trace thereof was left. Nobody ever ventured to commit that crime for the fear of severe punishment. Almost all the highways that connected the centre with other parts of the Kingdom and also led to Ahmednagar, Bijapur and Berar were as safe as a civilized State could boast of. Every new conquest was controlled in the same manner. An immediate step taken by the government after a conquest was to round up all the thieves and robbers of the place. Indercunda, for example, was administered in this manner after it was incorporated in the Kingdom. Although the statement made by the Qutub Shahi Historian that even an old and infirm woman could travel unmolested throughout the kingdom with her cash and jewels appears to be a little exaggeration,[1] yet it gives at least an idea of the iron hand that the government wielded for the sake of law and order. If a traveller or a peaceful citizen incurred a loss, it was made good of by the government.[2] It was but natural that this kind of a stern and rigorous administration should bring unbounded peace and prosperity to the Kingdom. It consequently resulted in the progress of commerce and industry and made the Kingdom richer day by day, for the traders and industrialists felt security and thus promoted their activities and their business.

The Military administration too received as much care and the Golcunda armies and fortifications were made as strong as those of the neighbouring States. It seems that Ibraheem had re-organized the whole military system and had infused new spirit in his fighting forces. Besides the

1—Qutub Shahi, p. 231; Abu Turab, Hadiqua p. 200.

2—Qutub Shahi, p. 231; Abu Turab, Hadiqua, p. 200.

appointment of great warriors like Ameer Shah Mohamed Anju and Husain Baig in command of the armies, he recruited new forces and built new forts. We know that Ibraheem's fighting forces made notable conquests and extended the Kingdom to its natural limits. The conquests of Rajahmandry, Kasamkota and Kondavidu deserve a mention. The fort of Golcunda which was the central nucleus of defence was rebuilt by Ibraheem on a large scale with stone and mortar. The fort was strengthened by a double rampart which had as long a circumference as eight thousand yards, interposed by eight iron gates and four hundred bastions. The whole construction had cost twenty one lacs of rupees.[1]

Ibraheem had also many works of public utility to his credit, such as gardens and lakes. He also built new palaces and laid out some towns which were named after him. He had found the Kingdom in a chaotic condition when he had assumed the reins thereof, but left it fully consolidated and organized. Ibraheem's lasting service in the domain of politics and culture had lent fascination to the name of the remarkable king and had made him a legendary figure in the Telugu literature. "He is Malkibharam of legend and ballads."

1—Abu Turab, p. 135.

CHAPTER VI

THE INTER-STATE WARS

Ever since the five Sultanates of the Deccan sprang up as off-shoots of the old Bahmani Kingdom, they always entertained bitter animosity against one another and waged protracted wars which were bound to disturb the peace of the country. The situation was further complicated by the intrusion of the Kingdoms of Khandesh and Vijayanagar which lay to the North and South of the Deccan. They too, in response to the timely call of the one Kingdom or the other, joined the rival camps and made the matters worse. Bijapur and Ahmednagar were always at logger heads for the district of Sholapur which formed a bone of contention between them. The former sought the help of Vijayanagar, whereas the latter enlisted the support of Golcunda; the smaller Kingdoms of Bidar and Berar joined hands either with the Nizam Shahs or with the Adil Shahs in accordance with the exigencies of the moment. Thus the whole of the Deccan table-land remained divided between two hostile camps of the Nizam Shahs and the Adil Shahs, whereas the minor powers were attached either to the former or to the latter. It was a very embarrassing situation in the face of which the Deccan Kingdoms had to devote much of their time and energy to tackle their inter-state problems. The kingdom of Golcunda, in common with her sister Kingdoms, had to determine her policy so as to safeguard her independence and future progress.

In the early years when the Golcunda Kingdom came into existence, no permanent foreign policy was laid down so as to govern the mutual relations of the Deccan Sultanates. In the first place, the Qutub Shahi kingdom was founded many years after her sister kingdoms of Bijapur, Ahmednagar and Berar came into existence. Sultan Quli did not associate himself with the foreign faction which was responsible for the downfall of the Bahmanides. We know that Sultan Quli had hailed from Persia and joined the Bahmani Durbar in 1487 and was placed in charge of the Telugu districts in 1496, that is, nearly fifteen years after the assassination of the great Mahmood Gawan, who had espoused the cause of the foreign faction at the expense of the Deccani party. He never declared his independence until the death of Sultan Mahmood Bahmani which occured in 1518. Even in the capacity of an independent king, Sultan Quli displayed no spirit of rivalry against any of his contemporary kings but he, on the contrary, tried his utmost to maintain amicable relations with all his neighbours unless and until he was threatened by an aggression. He twice came into clash with Vijayanagar for the sake of the forts of Balamcunda and Kondavidu which were claimed by the Southern Empire; he also led two punitive expeditions against Qasim Bareed for his ungrateful and disloyal behaviour towards his patron king, Sultan Mahmood Bahmani. At one time, probably in 1534 he was forced to raise his arms against the Adil Shahi Kingdom when Koilcunda was invested by Ismail Adil Shah in response to the call from the then Raja of Vijayanagar. But in the next generation, when the mutual jealousies of the Deccan Kingdoms, along with their growth in size and power were intensified, the Deccan kings were driven by the force of circumstances to shape a definite foreign policy

of their own. The reign of Jamsheed which lasted for seven years from 1543 to 1550, engendered a new trend in the conduct of foreign affairs. There were signs of mutual misunderstandings already visible in inter-state relations and Golcunda, in the very beginning of Jamsheed's reign, was alarmed by a surprise attack by Ali Bareed who had temporarily extended his helping hand to Ibraheem Quli. The timely help extended by Ahmednagar at this juncture, drove Golcunda to her side. A permanent alliance was accordingly cemented between the two neighbouring Kingdoms through the mediation of Shah Tahir, who was a great political spirit of the age. It was through Shah Tahir that both the Kingdoms had made a united front against foreign aggression. Golcunda henceforth remained a permanent ally of Ahmednagar and helped her against any aggression made by Bijapur and her allies.

The second half of the sixteenth century during which Ibraheem Qutub Shah was called upon to assume the reins of the government, was a critical period of the Deccan history. The period was darkened by the rivalries of the Deccan kings. The sister Kingdoms of Ahmednagar and Bijapur were equally ruled over by mighty and ambitious kings like Husain Nizam Shah I and Ali Adil Shah I who always aspired for extensive conquests and sole ascendancy of the Deccan at the expense of their neighbours. They strained every nerve to consolidate their Kingdoms by making necessary fortifications and augmenting their armies to the highest pitch. Ali Adil Shah was a great aggressor. He always disturbed the peace of the country by his aggressive designs. It was an alarming situation which threatened a grim and a protracted civil war. Had there been no mediation and conciliation on the part of Ibraheem Qutub

Shah at this juncture, the Deccan would have lost all her peace and prosperity. Ibraheem was a shrewd statesman, with a broad vision and a great political insight. His contact with the great kingdom of Vijayanagar during his long exile of seven years, also helped him in widening his outlook both in internal and external matters. Ever since he ascended the Qutub Shahi throne, he paid the best of his attention to the foreign policy of the Kingdom and tackled foreign affairs so wisely that it not only gave solidarity to the Deccan kingdoms but also secured peace and prosperity to the people of the Deccan at large. What weighed with him largely was the maintenance of the balance of power. His first step in this respect was to follow the policy of his predecessor in making common cause with Ahmednagar so that the latter might stand the over whelming odds of Bijapur and maintain the balance.

Ibraheem Qutub Shah took the initiative and patched up an alliance with Ahmednagar through his able minister, Mustafa Khan. Ibraheem and Husain both met and greeted each other on the outskirts of Gulberga and strengthened their political ties by means of personal contact. The alliance portended a better future and a security for both the kingdoms, particularly for Ahmednagar and therefore, it was hailed joyously by both the governments and their subjects. The chief object of the alliance was to immediately datach Gulberga from Adil Shahi jurisdiction[1] and thereafter to put an end to the Empire of Vijayanagar in due course which had constituted a grave danger to the Deccan Sultanates. The mutual jealousies of the Deccan kings were responsible for frequent intrusion by Vijayanagar. Immediately after the con-

1—Ali Bin Azizullah, Burhan, p. 395.

clusion of the agreement, they laid siege to Gulberga. The Adil Shahi garrison which defended the town was overwhelmed by the invaders and, but for the intervention of Vijayanagar, the fall of Gulberga would have been an established fact. Ibraheem Adil Shah called for Vijayanagar's help and, consequently, a strong army was rushed to the scene. But, owing to the conciliatory attitude of Ram Raj on that occasion, the rival camps refrained from bloodshed. Although Ram Raj had sided with Adil Shah, yet he played the part of a mediator and prevailed on Ibraheem Qutub Shah to withdraw his forces. [1] It was apparent that an armed conflict was disasterous to both the parties. However, better counsels prevailed and Ibraheem Qutub Shah, [2] with due regard to the agreement reached at between Golcunda and Ahmednagar, thought it wise to refrain from war and thus returned to his capital. Golcunda was also afraid of an invasion from the South in case it persisted in a policy of war. It was reported to him that Ram Raj's brother, Eltam Raj was out to devastate the Southern districts of Golcunda. Ibraheem of Golcunda consequently met both Ibraheem of Bijapur and Ram Raj on the confluence of the Krishna and the Bhima and brought the rival camps to terms by his personal influence and thus the kings returned to their respective homes peacefully. [3]

1—Zubairi has made no reference to this event.

2—Qutub Shahi, p. 142.

3—Qutub Shahi, p. 144. Ferishta gives a different version of this episode. He says that Ibraheem lifted the siege in the nick of time when the siege was in full swing and returned to Golcunda. He feared that the fall of Gulberga might increase Husain's strength.

Ferishta, part III, pp. 170-171; Ali Bin Azizullah, Burhan, p. 398.

But the death of Ibraheem Adil Shah I in 1557 A.D. (965) reversed the whole situation, because his successor, Ali Adil Shah I, pursued an aggressive policy and laid strong claims to the district of Sholapur and Kalyan. He threatened an invasion if the districts were liberated by the rival powers. He had clearly planned an invasion of Ahmednagar with Vijayanagar's support. He had concluded an alliance with Vijayanagar beforehand. He had visited Vijayanagar to contact Ram Raj and his government and bring them round to his viewpoint. His visit was very successful. According to the Adil Shahi historians, he had free access to the Raja's harem. The Raja's wife treated him as her son and his daughters as their brother.[1] The alliance constituted a great danger to the Deccan Sultanates, especially Ahmednagar. It appears that Ibraheem Qutub Shah had also joined the unholy alliance either in response to the advice of Mustafa Khan or in fulfilment of his old obligation to Vijayanagar.[2] Both the powers attacked Ahmednagar and the poor Kingdom was overpowered by overwhelming odds. Husain had no alternative but to flee from the capital, leaving the Kingdom to the care of his mother, Amina. The city of Ahmednagar was left to the mercy of the unbridled Hindu soldiers who carried fire and sword wherever they went. They looted the city, damaged the property and committed outrages, demolished the mosques and desecrated the Holy Quran.[3] The war, however, came to a standstill by the solitary influence of Ibraheem Qutub Shah. According to Ferishta, Ibraheem's association with the invaders formed part of political tactics, and not

1—Zubairi, Basatin, p. 82;

2—Qutub Shah, p. 152; Ali Bin Azizullah, p. 403.

3—Ali Bin Azizullah, Burhan, p. 404.

an aggrandisement. He went upto Ahmednagar along with the invaders, apparently as their ally, but secretly to help the Nizam Shahi garrison and he then tried to pacify Amina.[1] His moderating influence went a long way in reconciling the rival camps. He prevailed on Ram Raj to withdraw from Ahmednagar. The peace was, however, purchased at a heavy price, namely, by the cession of Kalyan from Ahmednagar and that of Kondapally or Mustafanagar from Golcunda.[2]

But Husain did not leave unrevenged the disgrace and the political lossess that he had sustained on the occasion. He made up his mind to avenge himself on his inveterate foe, Ali. Unable to fight single-handed, he looked to Golcunda for prompt help, and with a view to forging strong ties between the two States, he proposed to give the hand of his daughter, Bibi Jamal to Ibraheem. Qasim Baig Hakeem, Shah Jafar, the brother of Shah Tahir, and Moulana Inayat-ullah were commissioned to the Golcunda court for matrimonial negotiations,[3] or, according to Ferishta, it was initiated by Ibraheem himself.[4] In any case, the wedlock proposal was confirmed by both the parties and the marriage was celebrated at the outskirts of Kalyan in 1563 A.D. (971) where both the kings had arrived along with their armies, with an avowed intention of storming Kalyan immediately after the celebration. They accordingly laid

1—**Qutub Shahi, p. 152; Abu Turab, Hadiqua, p. 125-126. Ferishta** says that Ibraheem left Ahmednagar in the nick of the time **and disappointed both Ali and Ram Raj. See Ferishta, part III,** p. 170.

2—**Abu Turab,** p. 126.

3—**Basatinus-Salatin,** p. 86.

4—**Ferishta, part III,** p. 171.

siege to the Kalyan fort which was at that time under the sway of the Adil Shahs.[1]

But this venture was ill-advised and fraught with danger. It proved disasterous to both the kingdoms, especially to Golcunda which lay in close proximity to Vijayanagar. Ali invited his old ally, Ram Raj for help and the latter rushed to the scene with a big army of two lakhs and fifty thousand. Not only the besiegers were overthrown by the overwhelming odds but also the Golcunda Kingdom was raided from the rear. Venkat Patti, the brother of Ram Raj entered the Golcunda territory from the South and was reinforced by Jagdev Rao, Ainul Mulk, Mian Baddu and Chanda Khan, the traitors, who had revolted against their Government and had joined the rival camp. These traitors harassed Golcunda on this occasion more than the foreign enemy did. Ibraheem and Husain were forced to withdraw from Kalyan and they consequently hurried to their respective capitals to save their own territories.[2] Ali entered the fort triumphantly and collected rich booty, including elephants, horses, banners and other insignia of royalty. The green standard that symbolised the Nizam Shahi House was also captured by the enemy.

The retreat of Ibraheem Qutub Shah was more disasterous than the above said defeat at Kalyan. Although he was reinforced by three thousand Nizam Shahi troops under Murtuza Khan yet this was no match to the overwhelming odds of the enemy. He was hotly pursued by Ali and Ram Raj even up to the gates of Golcunda. The enemies advan-

1—Qutub Shahi, p. 158; Ali Bin Azeezullah, Burhan, p. 407.

2—Zubairi holds that Ibraheem became apprehensive at the Adil Shahi onslaught and left the field. See Basateen, p. 87.

ced as far as Tar Palli which lies at a distance of eight miles from Golcunda. The Qutub Shahi generals, Sher Khan, Hasan Khan, Aziz Khan, Doulat Khan, Shaik Mohd., and Mian Bhai who were left behind to protect the rear were routed and some of them, Arab Khan and Shaik Mohd. were captured. To make the matters worse, Ainul Mulk and Jagdev Rao were instigated by the victors to lay waste the Qutub Shahi districts. Ram Raj also pushed forward Siri Timma, the Raja of Guntur or Murtuzanagar to invade Konda Palli with his fifty thousand soldiers. Jagdev, another traitor, exercised his own influence and instigated the Naikwaris of Koilcunda, Ghanpura and Pangal to raise their banners of revolt. Thus the whole Kingdom of Golcunda was in the grip of a crisis and those at the helm of affairs had to skate over thin ice. The Naikwari of Indercunda, Kesari Rao rose in open revolt and challenged the Qutub Shahi authority. It was the most appalling situation and Ibraheem was extremely annoyed to see that the Kingdom once built by his father was being torn into pieces by his enemies and the end of the State was in sight. But Ibraheem was made up of a different stuff. He was never cowed down by his opponents, however dreadful they might be. He rose to the occasion and made up a resolute mind to encounter his enemies and save the Kingdom at any cost.[2] No sooner did he endeavour to take the brunt on his shoulders and embarked in for the onerous and unnerving task, than he unexpectedly found himself in favourable circumstances. He was surprised to see that his inveterate foes like Ali Bareed and Ali Adil had both changed their outlook and, instead of challenging for a combat, invited him for peace. What contri-

1—Qutub Shahi, p. 161.
2—Qutub Shahi, p. 163.

buted to this sudden change of policy was that these victors were alarmed by the unproportionate gains made by Ram Raj in the Telugu country which were sure to upset the political balance and make Ram Raj undisputed master of the Deccan. They accordingly changed their policy and broke their alliance at once. They forced Ram Raj to come to terms. Ibraheem was informed of all the affairs forthwith. Mustafa Khan was commissioned by the Golcunda Government to proceed to the opposite camp and settle the terms. The latter was a shrewd and experienced politician. He repudiated Jagdev for perfidy and had a frank talk with Ali Adil who had granted him an audiance and liberty to express his views. His frank and free expression of views won the day and a settlement was made regarding the future course of action. To quote the Qutub Shahi Historian, the forceful speech of the "Truthful Syed" went a long way in resolving the intricate problems. [1] Ram Raj was prevailed upon to be content with Pangal and Ghanpura which Golcunda had agreed to give away and to withdraw his forces from other parts. The agreement was finalised at once and Ali Adil, Ali Bareed and Ram Raj returned to their respective capitals.

The sack of Ahmednagar and the devastation of Golcunda by rival powers especially by Vijayanagar proved a good eye-opener and awakened the political consciousness of the Deccan statesmen. Both friends and foes grew conscious of the imminent danger that threatened the annihilation of the Deccan Sultanates and the Deccan kings were impelled by these circumstances to determine the future course of ac-

1—Qutub Shahi, p. 164. The historian holds a high opinion of Mustafa Khan whose timely efforts and tact had saved the situation.

tion. The battle of Talikota was a natural corollary of these conditions. It was at this juncture that Mustafa Khan advised his king to strengthen the Golcunda fort by necessary fortifications and to augment the fighting forces. The fort of Golcunda which hitherto stood unaltered or unrenewed, was fortified with strong inner structure and ramparts. The outer walls that encircled the city of Golcunda were re-constructed in a manner as to give full protection to the peaceful citizens in times of war.[1] The fort so renewed became a good nucleus of defence for a century. The traitors of the kingdom who had sided with the foreign invaders in adverse circumstances were severely dealt with. Kesari Rao of Indercunda who had thrown his lot with the foreign power was punished by Mustafa Khan and in recognition of this service, the minister was promoted from the post of Meer Jumla to that of Peshwa. Saro Rao was another powerful Naikwari in the capital who had joined the foreign enemy in the melee, with a sinister plan to overthrow the Qutub Shahi Government and replace it with that of Ram Raj. It was a fearful insurrection to alarm the government. The insurgents who were in league with Saro Rao were too many and too powerful to be crushed at a time. They even dared to request the king to hand over Mustafa Khan to them as a condition precedent to their surrender. The king never stooped to their demand but crushed them one by one. Shitab Khan was another insurgent who had raised his banner of revolt at Rajahmundry and Ellore. He was crushed by Rafaat Khan Lari who was appointed as Malik Naib before he was despatched to Rajahmundry with Adam Khan, Malik Sheeran and Taj Khan Azeezul Mulk to serve under him. The expedition was highly successful. These officers

1—Abu Turab, pp. 135-136; Qutub Shahi, p. 231.

crushed the insurgent despite their unsurmountable difficulties and unfavourable weather and reoccupied the district which had passed into the hands of the rebels. Thus the Kingdom of Golcunda survived the worst crisis in its history by the undaunted courage of the king as also the faithful efforts on the part of his loyal servants.[1]

THE BATTLE OF TALIKOTA

The battle of Talikota climaxed the conflagration of inter-state wars that were being waged for more than half a century since the days of Sultan Quli Qutub Shah. It was the grimmest battle ever fought on the Deccan fields, involving far-reaching consequences. It sealed the fate of the Deccan and the Southern peninsula for more than two centuries. The immediate cause which precipated the battle lay in the growing menace of Vijayanagar which threatened the very existence of the Deccan Sultanates. Both friends and foes who either sought the alliance of Vijayanagar or discountenanced it, were equally alarmed by the danger. The sack of Ahmednagar and the devastation of Golcunda had awakened the Deccan Kings to the Southern menace and impelled them to form a common front against the Southern enemy.[2]

Ferishta and Zubairi hold that Ali Adil Shah I was the first ruler to contemplate and expedite the scheme, and since the unilateral action on the part of a single kingdom of Bijapur was not adequate to the magnitude of the task, he called upon all his neighbours to extend their hearty co-operation.[3]

1—Abu Turab, Hadiqua, pp. 136-137-138-139; Qutub Shah, p. 231.
2—Ferishta, Part III, p. 37; Zubairi, Basatin, p. 90.
3—Ferishta, part III, p. 38; Zubairi, Basatin, p. 91.

The historians of Ahmednagar and Golcunda credit their respective kings with the initiative, because the former had borne the whole brunt of Vijayanagar offensive and the latter was in the close vicinity of the danger and had suffered heavy losses.[1] Leaving the controversy aside, it is almost certain that the three kings were equally conscious of the danger which threatened the integrity of the Deccan table-land and therefore as soon as the idea was mooted, it was promptly responded to from all quarters. It is also certain that the scheme was matured by Ibraheem Qutub Shah of Golcunda. It was he who had sent his trusted minister, Mustafa Khan to Bijapur and Ahmednagar with a message of goodwill to prevail on both the kings to forget their mutual jealousies in the wider interest of the Deccan. Mustafa Khan who was best fitted for the task brought his mission to a successful conclusion. With a view to removing the chronic rancour which ever strained the relations of the two kingdoms of the North, he suggested matrimonial connections between the two royal families. His suggestion was favourably considered and the marriages were arranged forthwith. Husain Nizam Shah's renowned daughter, Chand Bibi was betrothed to Ali Adil Shah and the latter's sister, Hadya Sultana, to Murtuza, the son and successor of Nizam Shah. The marriages were celebrated with great pomp and pageantry, in keeping with the traditions of the two royal houses and the fort of Sholapur which formed a bone of contention between the two kingdoms was handed over to Bijapur as a dowry to Chand Bibi.[2]

The preliminaries being over, Ali Adil Shah adopted a hostile attitude towards Vijayanagar by demanding immediate

1—Tarikhe Qutub Shahi, p. 174; Burhan, p. 312.
2— Zubairi Basatin pp. 94-95; Burhan p. 415.

cessation of Pakri, Raichur and Mudgul. No sooner was the demand turned down and the Adil Shahi envoy who communicated the demand was ousted from Vijayanagar limits with great humiliation than the combined armies of the three kingdoms, with an additional reinforcement from Bidar under Ali Bareed, started their march in December 1564. In pursuance of the pre-arranged plan, the armies assembled at Bijapur in 1564 A.D. (772) and then they resumed their march to Talikota, the Northen bank of the Krishna. As the village lay within the territory of Bijapur, Ali Adil Shah held himself responsible for the entertainment of the entire army. Ram Raj, the de facto ruler of Vijayanagar was, in the meantime, informed of the grand alliance and movement of the Deccan armies. He lost no time in mustering huge army which numbered one lac foot and seventy five thousand horse to meet the foe. His vanguard which combined twenty thousand horse and one thousand elephants commanded by his brother Tirumala,[1] whom Muslim historians call Eltemraj, marched in advance, followed by another brother Venkatdari and blocked the approaches to the river, with the result that the Deccan invaders were held back. It was only in the darkness of night that the Deccan soldiers succeeded in belying the enemy and crossing the river.

Consequently, the Vijayanagar forces were taken by surprise, because the stratagem applied by the Deccan soldiers was beyond all expectations, and therefore the Vijayanagar commanders were forced to get themselves prepared in a haphazard manner and meet the foe at once. The battle took place in January 1565 A.D. (772). The Deccan forces

1—Krishnaswami Iyengar, Sources of Vijayanagar Hisotry, p. 18; Qutub Shahi, p. 181.

were arranged in the manner that Husain Nizam Shah occupied the central position, whereas Ali Adil Shah and Ibraheem Quli Qutub Shah commanded the right and left wings respectively, in keeping with the time-honoured tradition of the Deccan. On the opposite side, Ram Raj stood in the centre and his brothers, Tirumala and Venkatdari commanded the right and left flanks respectively. The first stage of the battle promised sure success to the Vijayanagar armies because the left wing of the Deccan, commanded by Ibraheem and Ali Bareed, was flung back by Vijayanagar's heavy offensive, but the timely move on the part of Husain Nizam Shah and the discharge of guns by his famous Turkish gunner, Chalpi Roomi Khan threw the entire Vijayanagar army into confusion. To add to this, Ram Raj, in the din of the battle, was captured by Nizam Shah's elephant which decided the fate of the battle at once.[1]

This was the end of the great Vijayanagar Empire which dominated the whole of the Southern peninsula for more than two centuries and left golden legacies of elegant culture. The victors remained for ten days on the battle-field and thereafter they moved to the capital to reap the harvest of their victory. There they stayed for six months and collected rich booty.[2] The Northern districts namely Raichur, Mudgul, Aurlanker and Takri which had formed a bone of contention between the North and the South, were occupied forthwith but the rest of the Empire which was too big to be

1—Ferishta, Part III, p. 40; Zubairi, Basatin pp. 102-103. Burhan, pp. 423-424-426. The actual battle-field was near the village Raksasi Tangadi and Talikota. See Sewell. The forgotten Empire, p. 199.

2—Ali bin Azeezullah, Burhan, p. 42; Qutub Shahi, p. 182.

occupied overnight was left to the mercy of the local rules.[1] It took many years before a large part of Vijayanagar was incorporated in the Golcunda and Bijapur territories. The victors had no alternative but to leave the Southern districts in charge of Tirumala and Venkatdari as a mark of royal favour and return to their respective homes.[2]

The extinction of Vijayanagar Empire was a revolutionary event, pregmatic with far-reaching consequences. It brought in its wake immense advantages to the Deccan Sultanates as political security and a considerable material gain. Freed from the danger, the Deccan Sultanates breathed a sigh of relief, enough to march on peacefully and consolidate themselves, utilising the vast economic resources which fell to their lot. Golcunda and Bijapur which were contiguous to the boundaries of Vijayanagar, extended their territories upto Kandikota and Gingee in course of time and acquired more extensive and richer lands than they originally possessed. Thus the fall of Vijayanagar was one of the great factors which conduced to the long life and prosperity of the Deccan Sultanates.

1—Zubairi, Basatin, pp. 109-110.
2—Ferishta, Part III, p. 41.

Part III

The Kingdom in the ascendant

CHAPTER VII

THE ERA OF PEACE AND PROSPERITY

The Kingdom reached its full development during the two consecutive reigns of Mohd. Quli Qutub Shah and Sultan Mohd. Qutub Shah. Ibraheem Qutub Shah died in 1580 A. D. (988 A. H.) and was succeeded by his third son, Mohd. Quli Qutub Shah, who was under his teens, in supercession of the elder sons, Abdul Khader alias Shah Sahib and Husain Quli.[1] There is no reliable record to establish the truth as to why the elder princes who were quite competent to shoulder the burden of their father's dominion, were denied the right of succession. The anomaly may be due either to a strong conspiracy or a coup de'etat on the part of a court clique. According to Qutub Shahi history, Shah Sahib was detained at Devarcunda fort because of his subversive activities and had predeceased his father while in internment, whereas Husain Quli had survived his father for a further period of six years. He died in 994 A. H. during the reign of Mohd. Quli.[2] But the historian gives no reason why he was thrown overboard.[3] Abdul Fattah and Khuda Banda were the junior princes who were thirteen and twelve respectively at the time of their father's death. The former died in 1594 A. D. (1003 A. H.) and the latter who was Mohd. Quli's own brother died in internment in 1020. Mohd. Ammen was the youngest. He was

1—Qutub Shahi, p. 229.

2—Qutub Shahi, p. 229.

3—The accession of Mohd. Quli's brothers is shrouded in mystery. There seems to be a deliberate attempt to suppress the truth. Shah Sahib was officially declared to be dead and therefore his uprising in 1018 was represented as a false pretention. He, however, lost the field at Pangal and escaped to Bijapur (Qutub Shahi, pp. 266,68). It seems to be a clear distortion of facts. Husain Quli was either disabled or had renounced his claim in favour of his elder brother, Shah Sahib

only at the time of his father's death was the sixth and the last. He maintained friendly relations with his brother, the reigning monarch. He was noted for nobility of character and zest for learning.[1] Mohd. Quli Qutub Shah who, accorring to a tradition, was born of a Hindu lady known as Bhagirati,[2] was born on 14 Ramzan 973 (1565 A. D.), the historical year which had witnessed the memorable battle of Talikota. The chronogram باعث روزی اهل عالم "Provider of sustenance to the people of the world," numerically denotes the date of his birth. A large number of poets had composed commemorative poems on the occasion and were munificiently rewarded by the king. The following few lines, out of the many, would suffice to bear witness to the importance that the event had in the eyes of the people :

شاہرا داد خدا فرزندے کہ شد از دیدن او دل خرم
پے شکرانہ شہ دریا دل کرد با خلق ہمہ لطف و کرم
سال مولودش را یافت فلک باعث روزی اهل عالم

"God has granted a babe to the benign king,
And his sight cheers up one's heart;
Out of gratitude has the munificent king
Lavished infinite favours and bounties on his wight;
The Heaven has revealed the chronogram of birth :
"Provider of sustenance to the world and the
Cosmopolite."[3]

Mohd. Quli Qutub Shah who was installed on the Qutub Shahi throne at the tender age of fifteen, was distinguished among his brothers by virtue of his fine quali-

1—Ibid. p. 230.
2—Mahnama, Mss. Asafia Library, Hyderabad, p. 193.
3—Qutub Shahi, p. 183.

ties of head and heart. His prosperous reign which marks the culmination of the Golcunda Kingdom is a proof of his ability and strength of character.

He was a far-sighted king, fully conscious of the civil and military requirements of the kingdom. Besides the strong measures of defence that were carefully planned and implemented for the security of the kingdom, Mohd. Quli also devoted his earnest attention to vulnerable parts of the State, especially the borders, which were exposed to foreign raids. The South and South-Eastern border was bounded by the Tungabhadra, whereas the North and North-East by the Godavari. These frontiers were guarded by strong troops, always alert to face every eventuality. Rajamundry on the Godavari and Guntur on the Krishna, were the two military headquarters that supplied men and material in every case of emergency.

The rebellion of Ali Khan Lur who commanded the Guntur garrison happened to be the first incident which attracted the immediate attention of Mohd. Quli Qutub Shah. Although the rebellion was promptly put down,[1] yet the Kingdom was threatened by the hostile movements of Venkat Patti and other rajas of the South who still ruled over certain isolated parts of the Kanarese districts after the fall of Vijayanagar. The king personally took command of the army and seized the forts of Masalmurak, Nandial and Kulkor in his first attempt and then he hastened to support Ameenul Mulk, the then Meer Jumla, who had laid siege to Kandi-Kota, the stronghold of Narsing Raj, who was the nephew of the late Ram Raj. Narsing Raj sued for peace

1—Abu Turab, Hadiqua, p. 210; Qutub Shahi, p. 240.

and accepted the terms of the invader.[1] But Venkat Patti, who had taken refuge in the Pengunda fort in the vicinity of the Qutub Shahi territory, was still at large and the Qutub Shahi army was unable to encounter the enemy on account of monsoonish weather. Taking advantage of this complacence, Venkat Patti launched an attack on Guntur or Murtuzanagar, which was repulsed by Afzal Khan, the Havaldar of the district. He again led his army against Kandikota after the monsoon was over. Although Sanjar Khan who governed the district, was reinforced by the officers despatched from the Capital, yet the complacency on the part of the former, had worsened the situation and ended in a defeat to the discomfiture of the Golcunda army. Venkat Patti exploited this opportunity and let loose his troops into the Qutub Shahi territory who freely indulged in loot and plunder. Mohd. Quli, consequently, commissioned his trusted officers, Etebar Khan Gazdi, Alam Khan, Khan Khanan, Sabaji and Bhalay Rao to take the field against the enemy. They not only expelled the freebooters from the territory but also advanced upto Vijayanagar and inflicted crushing defeats on the Southern foe. But the siege of Ahmednagar by the Mughals, in the meantime, afforded another favourable opportunity to Venkat Patti. He attacked Ghanpura forthwith, but sustained a defeat at the hands of the local officer, Adil Khan. The Northern rebels who rose in arms in the North-Eastern part of the Kingdom were equally reduced to subjection.[2] The young raja of Kasim-Kota who had succeeded his father, Balandar Rai, seceded from allegiance and withheld his tribute. He was crushed by Ameenu'l

1—Abu Turab, pp. 220-221.

2—Abu Turab, Hadiqua, pp. 222-226-235; Qutub Shahi, pp. 253-56-62.

Mulk.[1] Again, the local insurrections that broke out at Rajamundry and Vellore were also suppressed.[2] With the suppression of the last insurrection, Mohd. Quli was now free to attend to his cultural activities and he thus ushered in an era of peace and prosperity which continued throughout his reign as also during that of his successor

Mohd. Quli was more a nation-builder than a conqueror. The glory of his reign lies more in his cultural contributions than in his military conquests. He was the ablest and the most enlightened king of the Qutub Shahi house. It was he who had raised the Qutub Shahi dynasty to the highest pinnacle of glory and made his reign to be crowned as the golden age of the Qutub Shahi period. The lay-out of the city of Hyderabad was the highest achievement of Mohd. Quli. The city which was adorned with magnificent buildings and fine architecture as also with civic and social amenities stood as a medieval wonder. The broad main roads and magnificent buildings like the Dad Mahal, Khuda Dad Mahal, Mohamedi Garden, Banat Ghat and Toor had won a world-wide reputation.[3] He was also a patron of learning and fine arts. His passion for literature and art went a long way in promoting literary activities and initiating intellectual awakening. The local languages, especially Telugu, received encouragement and Telugu was patronised as liberally as the Arabic and Persian languages and Telugu poets and prose-writers were munificently encouraged and rewarded. If a local tradition is to be relied upon, Mohd. Quli was himself conversant with Telugu and even composed poems in that language. He was also fond of

1—Abu Turab, p. 231; Qutub Shahi, pp. 258-82.
2—Abu Turab, p. 236.
3—Qutub Shahi, pp. 248-49-53.

him as compassionate and forbearing.[1] Tender hearted and liberal though he was, he never allowed his leniency to stand in the way of justice. All judicial cases were brought to the court of law and were justly dealt with. No wonder, then, that peace reigned supreme throughout the kingdom, undisturbed by any act of lawlessness. He repealed the corn laws which were imposed on food grains in the previous regime. He distributed lacs of rupees among the poverty-stricken on solemn days of the year. Sixty thousand huns were given away in charity every year in the name of 12 Apostles. Twelve thousand huns in Moharrum and one lac huns in Rabiul Awal were given away in alms. The rituals of Moharrum were observed with great reverence and solemnity. The mourning rites were scrupulously followed throughout the kingdom. The poor and destitute were fed and dark clothes were given to people for use during the mourning days. A large sum was also remitted to the holy places for purposes of their upkeep and maintenance. The poor classes received government help under different descriptions. They received alms for their daily subsistence as well as liberal grants for the marriage of their children, which all go to prove the generosity of his heart.

SULTAN MOHAMMED QUTUB SHAH.

The reign of Sultan Mohammed Qutub Shah is nothing but a continuation of the previous one. Sultan Mohammed, alias Sultan Mirza, was born on Wednesday, 23rd Rajab, 1001 A.H. (1593, A.D.).[2] His father was Mirza Mohammed

1— حلیم الروف See Ferishta, part IV, p. 172.

2—The date is confirmed by the inscription engraved on the king's tomb. See Bilgrami, Landmarks of the Deccan, p. 139, as opposed to 23rd Rabi II, which is recorded by Qutub Shahi, p. 308.

Ameen, the younger brother of Mohammed Quli Qutub Shah and his mother was Khanam Agha who came of a venerable family of Persia. Khanam's father was Meer Maqsood Ali, who was the son of Meer Allauddin Tabatʼaba and claimed lineage from the revered Imam, Hazrat Musa Kazim. What brought Maqsood Ali to Golcunda was his family connection with Syed Kamaluddin, a Golcunda nobleman and military officer. It was the latter as also his colleague, Mustafa Khan, who introduced Maqsood Ali to the royal court and recommended him for royal favour.[1] The latter was not only created a Golcunda Peer but his daughter, Khanam Agha was also married to Prince Mirza Mohammed Ameen, in keeping with the tradition of the Qutub Shahi house which always accorded warm welcome to almost all the outsiders of noble descent and chose them for matrimonial connections with members of the royal family. Though the exact date of Mirza Ameen's marriage is nowhere given in history, yet it may be safely ascribed to 1591 A.D. (1000 A.H.). It is certain that Sultan Mohammed, who was the first child of his father, was born in March 1593 (1001 A.H.) and, therefore, it may be presumed that the marriage had taken place an year earlier. If the date of the marriage is taken to be correct, it must have been celebrated about twelve years after the accession of Mohammed Quli. We know that Mohammed Quli Qutub Shah had made necessary arrangements for not only his own marriage but also for the marriages of his brother and sisters soon after his accession to the throne.[2] The birth of Sultan Mohammed, however, had evoked countrywide rejoi-

1—Qutub Shahi, p. 308; Abu Turab, Hadiqua, 264; Bilgrami, Landmarks of the Deccan, p. 135.

2—Ferishta, part III, p. 173.

cings and was welcomed by both the members of the royal family and the subjects. The king was highly gratifid at the news of this birth, because he had no male issue and the newly born prince was his prospective successor. The historical poem composed on this occasion by Meer Momin Astarabadi, the Prime Minister, is a true indication of the general feelings of the people :

باز عالم ابتدائے کامرانی کردہ است
صد بشیر کامرانی می برد هر سو خبر
دودمان ترکمانش خوش چراغے بر فروخت
پرتو شاهزادہ بر چرخ مینا بدد کر
رونق عزو شرف سلطان محمد آنکه هست
هرد و عالم یک صدف از بهر آں عالی گهر
خواستم تاریخ آن فرخندہ گوهر عقل گفت
اول کام است و فیروزی و اقبال و ظفر
چوں دعا زین به نمی دانم ازاں میگو بمش
سرور عالم شوی در ظل اقبال پدر
سنہ ۱۰۰۱ ھ

"The world had discovered new avenues of success
And the happy news spread far and wide.
The dynasty of Turkman has lit again a new lamp and
The prince is shedding lustre on the firmament.
Sultan Mohd. is an ornament to honour and dignity and
Thus the two worlds have offered to the worthy pearl
A shelter, like a shelf. I was looking for a chronogram
Of birth of the noble prince, reason whispered to me:
It is indeed success, prosperity, fortune and victory. No

Better prayer do I know than to wish that may he rise to world ascendancy under the august care of his father." [1]

There is a historical evidence to the effect that Mohd. Quli Qutub Shah was extremely anxious to adopt the prince as his own son and he, therefore, had implored his brother, Mohd. Ameen to hand over the child to him for adoption. "Give the child to me," said the king. "God may bless you with more children." But it is curious to note that the latter showed great reluctance in acceding to the wish of his brother and he seems to have evaded the request till his death. When Mohd. Ameen died in 1596 (1004), the tutelage of Sultan Mirza automatically devolved on the king, because he was the legitimate guardian of the child. History records that Mohd. Quli went to his brother's house to assume the custody of the child and took personal interest in his up-bringing. It is a historical fact that Sultan Mohd. enjoyed royal tutelage since his father had breathed his last. [2] He received special care and education, in keeping with the tradition of the royal House. Qazi Samghani was appointed to impart literary education and Hazrat Shah Yousuf [3] to give military training. Thanks to the noble influence of these learned teachers that Sultan Mohammed emerged as an ideal king, with a high degree of scholarship and enlightenment. He was married to Hayat Bakhshee Begum in 1607 A.D. (1015-16) when he had attained the age of fifteen. The marriage is recorded in history as a his-

1—Abu Turab, Hadiqua, p. 267; Qutub Shahi, p. 309.

2—Qutub Shahi, pp. 285-286; Abu Turab, Hadiqua, p. 265.

3—Qutub Shahi, p. 309. He is mentioned in history as Chand Yousuf. He was a spiritually illuminated Sufi whose memory is still cherished with veneration.

torical event of great significance for the reason that the crown prince was being married to the only daughter of Mohammed Quli and, therefore, the function was celebrated with great pomp and pageantry and was attended with a country-wide rejoicing. Although the actual ceremony was solemnized at Golcunda, yet the new city of Hyderabad pulsated with profound enthusiasm. The city was lavishly illuminated and the guests who were invited to attend the function, were sumptuously entertained. Almost all the incumbents of the state, high and low, were awarded gaudy clothes for use on the occasion. The clothes which were supplied from the royal store amounted to not less than thirty thousand in number.[1] The magnitude of this one item can give us some idea as to the total expenditure incurred in the whole marriage celebration. The union was really auspicious in regard to future glory and prosperity. The couple was destined to play a mighty role in the future history of Golcunda as being the architects of peace and prosperity. Both of them contributed largely to the cultural progress of the country and bequeathed valuable assets to future generations. Sultan Mohd. prematurely died at the age of 31 but his wife, Hayat Bakshi, lived to ripe old age to see her ideals fully realised. She steered the Kingdom as a de facto ruler for 40 years during the reign of her son, Abdullah.

Sultan Mohd. Qutub Shah was enthroned after the death of his uncle on 17th Ziqada 1020 A.H. (1612). Although the young king was the legitimate and rightful successor of his uncle and he was properly trained and equipped for the kingly office, still the late king had never failed to give definite instructions to the grandees of the state to see that Sultan Mohd. was raised to the throne after his death.

1--Qutub Shahi, p. 319.

Mohd. Quli, either in good health or on his death bed, missed no opportunity to advise the Prime Minister, Meer Mohd. Momin and other highplaced officers to enthrone the prince.[1] It was the Prime Minister who had made necessary arrangements for the accession of the young king. As Sultan Mohd. commanded wide popularity among his subjects for his purity of life and intellectual attainments, his accession was hailed with great enthusiasm and joy. The Prime Minister who was mainly responsible for the ceremony had composed two panegyric odes to commemorate the solemn occassion. The odes which have come to us as valuable historical records, are of a great interest and value :

Ode I :—

با محبت باز بستم عهد و پیمان نوے
کہنہ جامے می فشانم پیش جانان نوے
سرمہ شد خاک تلنگانہ زفرخ پائے تو
اے فدائے خاک پایت هر زمان جان نوے
گر صفاهان نوشد از شاه جہان عباس شاه
حیدرآباد از تو شد شاها صفاهان نوے
خواستم تاریخ فرخنده جلوست عقل گفت
جملہ عالم نوبہارے شد ز سلطان نوے (۱۰۲۰ھ)
از دعا گوے چو مومن هم دعا بہتر کہ است
او کہن داعی و تو شاها جہانبان نوے

"I have vowed a new pledge with Love
The old wine it is that I offer to new love;
The soil of Telangana has been by your steps blessed,
Let every coming soul lay prostrate on your feet for ever and ever.

1—Qutub Shahi, p. 310; Abu Turab, Hadiqua, p. 266.

As Safahan owe glory and new lustre to the Emperor Abbas Shah,
You have transformed Hyderabad into new Isfahan.
I searched for a suitable chronogram to commemorate the occasion,
And lo ! Reason declared, all is sunshine in the world with the advent of the new king.
This mind of Momin prays and who indeed has better right to pray for you,
I am your old panegyrist and you are a king newly crowned."

Ode II : —

خلعت شاهی چو در برکرده شاه دین پناه
دهربر گردون رساند از خرمی طرف کلاه
خسرو روی زمین شایستهٔ صاحبقران
شاه با فتح و ظفر سلطان محمد قطب شاه
روزگار حشمتش را خالق عالم ضمان
آفتاب دولتش را خلق عالم در پناه الخ

"When the king, defender of the faith appeared in royal robes,
The world is elavated with joy.
Sultan Mohd. Qutub Shah, lord of the earth graceful,
Elegant, of auspicious birth, whom fortune and victory ever attend.
His pomp and splendour are safe in the hands of Providence,
His beneficial reign offers an asylum to the whole human race."[1]

1—Qutub Shahi, pp. 312-13-14-15; Abu Turab, Hadiqua, pp.266-267-268.

The reign of Sultan Mohd. which is not longer than fourteen years occupies a prominent place in the history of Golcunda as an era of peace and prosperity. Thanks to the military efforts of the late king, who had steered the kingdom safely through internal and external turmoils, that his successor inherited a peaceful kingdom. Almost all the neighbouring states were subjugated and the border posts were fortified, ensuring a pefect security to the kingdom. Consequently, peace reigned supreme throughout the period and enabled the government to devote their attention to the social and intellectual uplift of the subjects. There is no doubt that the Northern part of the Deccan was continuously disturbed by bloody wars between the Mughal Emperors and the Nizam Shahi Sultanate, which was then virtually ruled by Malik Ambar and Golcunda was also indirectly involved, yet the theatre of war being far away from the borders of Golcunda, the kingdom remained unperturbed and its peace undistributed.

The glory of the reign was further enhanced by Sultan's nobility of character and purity of life. He holds a prominent place in history for his exemplary character and pious life. Not a single incident can be cited during his whole career to show that he ever infringed ordinary norms and canons of religion and morality. He was ultra religious and, as such, he observed fasts and prayers very regularly and recited a portion of the Quran every morning as the first item of his daily routine. His piety was proved beyond doubt on the occasion when the foundation stone of the Assembly Mosque, popularly known as the Mecca Masjid was being laid. The ceremony was to be performed by one who had never missed even the midnight prayer. In the large gathering of scholars and divines who were

especially invited to solemnize the function, the king was the only devotee who could fulfill the conditions of exacting the rite. The king laid the foundation stone with his own hands, saying that he had never missed even a single midnight prayer ever since he was twelve.[1]

The reign is singularly marked by substantial contribution to art and science. Sultan Mohd. was a great devotee of art and culture. He did all he could to promote literary and social activities and to keep the kingdom abreast with the march of time. He continued the tradition of his uncle by laying out, to the east of Hyderabad, a new city named Sultan Nagar after his own name. But, unfortunately, it remained incomplete owing to his untimely death. If the building programme were completed according to the original plan, the new city would have served a double purpose, namely the extension as well as the defence of the old city. Hyderabad would have been sandwiched between the two forts, Golcunda and Sultan Nagar, with good protection to the peaceful citizens of the capital. In addition to the Mecca Masjid which was planned and designed by him, Sultan Mohd. also constructed a big Idgah, now known as the Purani Idgah and built a palace known as the Aman Mahal which was probably intended to serve as a court of justice. A spacious garden known as the Nabi Bagh was also attached to the palace. Sultan's contributions to science and literature surpass, both in quality and quantity, all that was hitherto done. He was a learned man himself and took interest in the diffusion of learning. His court was a resort of famous scholars and savants.[2]

1—Abu Turab, Hadiqua, p. 284.

2—Abu Turab, Hadiqua, pp. 285-286-287; 2—Saidi, Hadiqua, Part I, p. 18; Qutub Shahi, p. 327.

It is very sad that Sultan Mohd. who was hardly 34 and had reigned for only 14 years, was laid down with high fever to which he ultimately succumbed. His ailment proved incurable. The physicians who were called upon to treat him were puzzled owing to his high temperature and were divided in their opinion about the nature of the disease and the method of treatment. The Unani physicians suggested cooling drugs, whereas the Indian physicians, prescribed heat-generating ones. When Khanam Agha, the king's mother was consulted, she approved of the latter method which worsened the case and further raised the temperature, ending in his death.[1] When the king sensed the fatal hour fast approaching, he spoke to his mother, Khanam Agha about the sum of fourteen thousand huns which had accrued from some business transaction in the "Meena Bazar," ladies' fair, and had been kept in some box. He asked her to give away the money in alms in order to promote the cause of religion and also to help the Haj pilgrims and the pious. Then he called for the Quran-reciters and asked them to recite the scriptures by his bed-side. While reciting, when they came to the verse, ارجعی الی ربک راضیۃ" مرضیۃ "move back to thy Creator, reconciled and resigned," he breathed his last on 13th Jamadiul Awal 1034. A.H. (1626).[3] His remains were interred in the royal cemetery known as the Langar House.[4]

1—Abu Turab, Hadiqua p. 281.

2—Abu Turab, Hadiqua, p. 282; Saidi, Hadiqua, Part I, p. 19

3—Abu Turab, Hadiqua, p. 282; Saidi, Hadiqua, Part I, p. 19.

4—Bilgrami, Landmarks of the Deccan, p. 139.

CHAPTER VIII

THE FOREIGN POLICY AND BALANCE OF POWER

Mohammed Quli Qutub Shah mounted the throne at the time when the Deccan had become a hot bed of inter-State conflicts. It was unfortunate that the political alliance of the four Kingdoms which had preceded the memorable battle of Talikota did not last for long. The alliance was soon broken after the battle and the powers that had united themselves to crush their common foe, had now assorted against one another. One of the factors responsible for worsening the situation was the death of the hero of the Deccan and conqueror of Talikota. Husain Nizam Shah passed away soon after he returned from the historical battle-field. His sad death was mourned all over the country and the gravity of the loss that was felt by the people may be judged from the words, "the Sun of the Deccan has set"[1] آفتاب دکن بشد پنہاں His untimely death not only disturbed the political equillibrium of the Deccan but also plunged the country into the old chaotic conditions which had prevailed prior to the said battle. Ali

1—These words bear an eloquent testimony to the greatness of Husain Nizam Shah and also numerically denote the date of his death in 972 A.H. He died only five months after the battle of Talikota. The battle was fought in the month of Jamadi II and Husain died in Ziqada that is, only five months after the event. See Ali bin Azizullah, Burhan, p. 431.

Adil Shah who was solely responsible for the bloody feuds was still alive to pursue his aggressive policy against his rival. Ahmednager, which was then ruled by Husain Nizam Shah's son and successor, Murtuza Nizam Shah. Being of a deranged mind, Murtuza was absulutely incapable of conducting state administration and, therefore, his mother, Khunza Humayun attended to the state business. Tempted by the weak defences of the kingdom, Ali Adil launched an attack on Ahmednagar.[1] It was an open breach of trust and the poor kingdom had no alternative but to beseach Golcunda for help and the queen-mother lost no time in despatching her minister to Golcunda to invoke help. Ibraheem Qutub Shah, who was still alive, was greatly vexed by the ugly situation. He, however, extended his help to Ahmednager which was deemed indispensable for the maintenance of political equillibrium and peace of the country. The Qutub Shahi reinforcement was rushed to Kolas in order to join hands with the Nizam Shahi forces. The allied army which stormed Bijapur was more than a match to Ali and the latter was consequently forced to conclude peace with the invaders. The allies lifted the siege and dispersed forthwith because they had desired nothing but peace and the political balance of the country.[2] Yet, Ali's aggressive mind never ceased to devise fresh plans to wreak vengeance on Golcunda which was always the biggest obstacle in the realization of his schemes. As he was unable to challenge the strong kingdom of Golcunda single-handed, he applied all possible means to bring Ahmednager to his side. Murtuza failed to assess the real motives which lurked behind the invitation. He fell a prey to Ali's machinations. What attracted Mur-

1—Ali, Burhan, p. 434; Zubairi, p. 152.

2—Ali Bin Azizullah, Burhan, pp. 434-435; Qutub Shahi, p. 185.

tuza was the conquest of Berar which the Nizam Shahs had long cherished for the sake of the extension of their kingdom. The united armies of Bijapur and Ahmednager now invaded Gavel, Berar. Tafal Khan who had posed as the de facto ruler of this Northern principality after stupefying the Imad Shahi dynasty, became very apprehensive. He tried to cajole the invader to withdraw from his territory. His humiliating messages and rich presents after all bore fruit and Ali Adil Shah refrained from any hostility. Murtuza, who played the part of a stooge, followed suit.[1] While withdrawing from Berar, the allies, instead of returning to their respective capitals, diverted their forces towards Golcunda. But an unexpected mishap wrecked their whole scheme. A minor clash between the allied armies assumed unproportionate dimensions. Although the crisis was averted through the mediation of influential persons, yet the scheme of invading the Golcunda kingdom utterly failed and the invaders returned to their respective capitals under strained relations.[2]

The political amity between the rivals, Ahmednager and Bijapur, who had hitherto ranged themselves against each other with unabated ranker, was a new phase in the Deccan politics. Besides being an act of ingratitude in the case of Golcunda, it spelt a serious threat to the political balance of the Deccan. Ibraheem Qutub Shah, therefore, tried to break the alliance and restore the status quo. Murtuza was given the tip that the friendly gesture of Ali was nothing but a snare and that it was detrimental to the cause of the Deccan. The negotiations bore fruit and the traditional alliance between Ahmednagar and Golcunda was re-established before it was too late. The new allies now proposed

1—Ali bin Azizullah, Burhan, p. 436; Qutub Shahi, p. 186.
2—Ibid p. 436; Qutub Shahi, 187.

to enlist the support of Eltam Raj, the ruler of Vijayanagar against the aggressive designs of Bijapur. The three rulers met on the banks of the Krishna and contemplated a lightening attack on Bijapur,[1] but the whole scheme failed due to the indiscreet policy of Khunza Humayun. She demanded two lacs of huns as 'Nalbaha' from Eltam Raj. The inopportune demand greatly annoyed Eltam Raj who, in consequence, kept himself aloof. As Murtuza and Khunza Humayun were adamant in their demand, Ibraheem's efforts of reconciliation bore no fruit and, therefore, Ibraheem and Eltam Raj both returned in utter disgust.[2] The king of Ahmednagar and his mother, however, had to suffer many mishaps in their retreat, because their army was intercepted and harrassed by the Adil Shahi troops. The only way out was to adopt another route and escape the danger. They accordingly made a detour and moved to the direction of Koilcunda and Ghanpura, and to the surprise of the Qutub Shahi Government, they began ravaging the Qutub Shahi territory. This act of treachery could not but strain the happy relations between Ahmednagar and Golcunda. Ibraheem Qutub Shah despatched two of his best generals, Salabat Khan and Muqarrab Khan with two or three thousand horse-men to punish the intruders. As a consequence, the Nizam Shahi army suffered heavy reverses and took to flight.[3]

The kingdom of Ahmednagar itself was sliding into social and political chaos owing to party jealousies. Khunza Humayun was arrested and those who had espoused her cause

1—Ali, Burhan, p. 437; Qutub Shahi, p. 187.

2—Abu Turab, Hadiqua, p. 154; Ali bin Azizullah, Burhan. p. 441; Qutub Shahi, p. 189.

3—Abu Turab, Hadiqua, 155; Qutub Shahi, p. 190.

were driven out of the kingdom. The political disruption of the kingdom and its unfriendly relations with Golcunda were too strong a temptation for Ali Adil Shah to withstand. Kishwar Khan was, therefore, despatched from Bijapur in 1567 (975 A.H.) and he succeeded in capturing the forts of Kondhana and Dharwar. But Changiz Khan, the then famous minister of Ahmednagar who managed the state affairs faithfully, was more than a match. He repelled the invaders boldly and killed Kishwar Khan Lari on the battle-field. The death of the Adil Shahi general left the army in utter confusion.[2] Yet, Ali would not give up his aggressive designs. He despatched another force under Ainul Mulk and Zariful Mulk which indulged in loot and plunder and caused country-wide disturbances. It was at this juncture that the Nizam Shahi rulers repented and decided once again to seek help from Golcunda. The Qutub Shahi Kingdom was again requested to take up the cudgels for the Nizam Shahi state and hold out a helping hand. Ibraheem Qutub Shah who was wide awake to the politics of the Northern Deccan, could not allow things to drift any longer. He had, by that time, extended his dominion by annexing the rich districts of Rajamandry and Qasim Kota. He rushed his reinforcements to Ahmednagar at once. The united armies of Ahmednagar and Golcunda now stormed Bijapur to bring Ali Adil to his senses.[3] Ali was extremely perturbed by the concerted action of the enemies and but for an unexpected incident, the allies would have routed Ali and captured his capital. Ali had, in the meantime, surreptitiously thrown his Peshwa, Abul Hasan

1—Qutub Shahi, p. 198.

2—Ali bin Azizullah, Burhan, pp. 445-446; Zubairi, Basateen, pp. 122-123; Qutub Shahi, p. 199.

3—Ali, Burhan, pp. 447-448; Qutub Shahi, p. 200.

Taher, into confinement on the charge of treason, namely, that the latter had instigated the Deccan kings to invade Bijapur. Abul Hasan had a big circle of friends and sympathisers, and some of them hurried to his rescue. Syed Murtuza who was formerly in the Nizam Shahi service, took an active part in the liberation movement. He approached Murtuza Nizam Shah with the request to conclude peace with Bijapur, as otherwise the minister was in danger of being killed. He also suggested that the release of Abul Hasan should be made one of the conditions of peace. Murtuza acceded to his request and, consequently, peace was concluded between the two parties and Abul Hasan was set free. He then joined the service of Murtuza. Besides this perfidious act which was detrimental to the Qutub Shahi cause, Ali Adil Shah dealt another blow to Golcunda. He exploited Syed Murtuza, his new henchman, to create dissensions between Murtuza Nizam Shah and Ibraheem Qutub Shah. The latter, extremely annoyed with the course of events, retired to Golcunda via Bidar.[1]

Frustrated by the perfidious behaviour of the Nizam Shahs, Ibraheem was forced to depart from his old policy of alliance with Ahmednagar. He was now more anxious to punish the latter than to deal with the king of Bijapur. He therefore made an alliance with Tafal Khan and Ali Bareed, the rulers of Berar and Bidar. Ali Adil Shah was also invited to join the alliance, and it naturally constituted a serious threat to Ahmednagar. The only alternative left to the Nizam Shahi kingdom to avert the danger was to isolate Ali from the grouping. Changez Khan applied all the possible means at his disposal to break the alliance

1—Ali bin Azizullah, Burhan, pp. 449 450-451-452; Qutub Shahi, pp. 201-202.

and, as a result, Ali was kept aloof. The Golcunda king lost his prestige once again because of the perfidy on the part of Ali Adil. Ibraheem and Bareed made an ignominous retreat. To make the matters worse, Ali and Murtuza both made a combined attack on the Telugu country in fulfilment of their old cherished object.[1] But the Golcunda government was strong enough to take retaliatory measures. They faced the invaders boldly and inflicted crushing defeats on them. The enemies were not only forced to retreat but were also threatened by a counter attack. They had to post a big army, thirty thousand strong, at the border town of Kolas to check the advance of the Qutub Shahi army.[2] The Northern soldiers who were posted near Kolas, did not remain inert: they harassed the Qutub Shahi subjects and ravaged the territory. Ibraheem was alive to these insurrections. He despatched a big punitive expedition under Ameer Shah Mohd. Anju and Husain Baig Turkman. A fierce battle took place and the enemy had to run away, suffering heavy losses.[3] Murtuza Nizam, in the meantime, had conquered Berar and incorporated this Northern principality into his own kingdom. But, with a view to safeguarding against the evil genius of Ali Bareed who was busy in intriguing against the Deccan Sultanates, Murtuza made a new plan to invade Bidar. Yet, the conquest of Bidar was not possible without the help of the powerful neighbour, Golcunda. Murtuza, therefore, once again beseeched his old ally, Golcunda for co-operation. Meer Abul Qasim was sent to Golcunda as an envoy for purposes of negotiations. The Qutub Shahi alliance with Berar and

1—Ali, p. 461; Qutub Shahi, p. 209.

2— Abu Turab, Hadiqua, pp. 179-180; Qutub Shahi, p. 210.

3—Abu Turab, Hadiqua, pp. 182-183; Qutub Shahi, pp. 213-214.

Bidar lasted no more, and Ibraheem, despite the untoward incidents which had marred the happy relations of the two kingdoms, never hesitated to extend his helping hand to Ahmednagar. He subordinated his personal interests to the main cause of the country. In response to the Nizam Shahi appeal, he despatched a strong army under Ameer Shah Meer.. But Ali Adil now intervened and came to the rescue of Bareed and foiled the whole scheme.[1]

The death of Ali Adil Shah which occurred in 1580 (988 A.H.) changed the political situation at once. Ali was succeeded by his nephew, Ibraheem Adil Shah II who believed more in the art of peace than that of war. Though, at the outset, he followed his uncle in his footsteps and defended his kingdom against foreign odds, yet, the dark clouds of war soon vanished into thin air within a few years. Ali Adil Shah's timely help to Bareed and the frustration of Murtuza's scheme rankled in the latter's mind and, therefore, he decided to wreak his vengeance on Bijapur. When the new scheme was known to the Adil Shahi Court, Ibraheem Adil forestalled the enemy before he could advance to Bijapur. A battle was fought at Shah Durag. Bahzadul Mulk, the Nizam Shahi commander opposed the invader but he could not hold the ground for long. According to another version, Bahzadul Mulk made unnecessary haste in launching a counter-attack on Bijapur and laid siege to Bidar. When he was foiled in his attempt, Golcunda reinforcement came to his rescue under Ameer Shah Meer. The Golcunda commander laid siege to Naldurg. But, as the capture of the fort was a prolonged affair, the invaders marched to Bijapur in the darkness of night and laun-

1—Abu Turab, Hadiqua, pp. 187-188.

ched an attack on the heart of the Kingdom. The bulk of the Adil Shahi army which was engaged in the defence of Naldurg was perforce called back to Bijapur to meet the emergency. Meanwhile Ameer Zambeel, another general of Golcunda advanced from the other direction and seized the forts of Nakavi, Kakan and Kalkur which belonged to the Adil Shahi Kingdom and the occupation of Bijapur itself was then in sight.[1] But the disunity among the Golcunda Commanders on the one side and the machinations of the Adil Shahi government on the other, wrecked the whole scheme and the invaders were forced to quit the Bijapur territory. They made a fresh attempt to renew the hostility with more vigorous preparations. Shah Meer requested his king to conduct the siege in person, but it failed entirely due to the death of Ibraheem Qutub Shah who breathed his last at this juncture and was succeeded by his son Mohd. Quli.

The sad news of the king's death cast a disheartening gloom on both the Qutub Shahi and Nizam Shahi camps. Ameer Shah Meer, however, managed to conceal the news for some days and before he disclosed it, he assembled all responsible personnel of both the forces, including Syed Murtuza, Jamsheed Khan, Khudawand Khan, Bahzadul Mulk and asked them all to give a solemn pledge for sincere and whole-hearted co-operation.[2] The young king of Golcunda, Mohd. Quli Qutub Shah, never ceased to perpetuate the old tradition and policy laid down by his father. Murtuza Nizam Shah sent to Golcunda, Meer Moin Meerak Sabzwari, his envoy to condole the death of the late king and felicitate the young successor and also invited him for co-operation. The friendly gesture was fully responded to

1—Ali bin Azizullah, Burhan, pp. 510-526; Qutub Shahi, pp. 223-224.

2—Ali bin Azizullah, Burhan, p. 529; Qutub Shahi, p. 228.

by Mohd. Quli who, on receiving first hand knowledge of Naldurg and its siege from Shah Meer, proceeded to the scene of operations in person. The arrival of the young king infused a new spirit and courage in the besiegers.[1] The siege was vigorously tightened up and the Qutub Shahi artillery, 'Mohammedi' and 'Hyderi' and the Nizam Shahi artillery, 'Nougazi and 'Laila Majnu' were put into operation. The fort garrison, including the governor, Wazeerul Mulk, was extremely perturbed and appealed to the central government for immediate help. Ibraheem Adil Shah who loved peace and avoided blood-shed, appealed to the invaders to renounce hostility and come to terms. The appeal was fully reciprocated by the invaders and the siege was lifted forthwith.[2] As the invaders too were wedded to the cause of peace and their sole aim of war was nothing more than the punishment of the aggressive states, they withdrew their armies and concluded peace which put an end to the age long conflict. The Naldurg episode may be regarded as the last phase of the inter-state conflicts among the Deccan Sultanates. The political equillibrium thus restored after the termination of the Naldurg war was the cherished ideal of Ibraheem Qutub Shah though it was realized after his death. So long as Ali Adil Shah lived, he never ceased to pursue his aggressive designs and he thus brought untold miseries to the Deccan people. The war-torn country was in sore need of peace and harmony, which was ultimately restored by the peace-loving successor. The resultant calm which now prevailed throughout the Deccan plateau was not disturbed for many years to come. Although Bijapur and Ahmedna-

1—Abu Turab, Hadiqua, p. 292; Qutub Shahi, p. 233.

2—Ali bin Azizullah, Burhan, p. 535: Abu Turab Hadiqua, p. 200: Qutub Shahi, pp. 236-237.

gar were driven to war after some years and fought sanguine battles, yet the battles never assumed serious proportions so as to engulf all the Deccan states causing a countrywide havoc. A noteworthy feature of the peace was that Bijapur and Golcunda maintained friendly relations throughout.[1] Ferishta says that for twenty eight years since the termination of the Naldurg war, the friendly relation between Golcunda and Bijapur remained undisturbed. With a view to forging ties of friendship between the two kingdoms, Ibraheem Adil Shah married Chand Sultana, the sister of Mohd. Quli Qutub Shah, and Ibraheem's sister, Khadija Sultana was given in marriage to Meeran Husain the son of Murtuza Nizam Shah. These political marriages were celebrated in 1586 (955 A.H.). The political harmony thus achieved, offered a golden opportunity to these kingdoms to promote their culture. The peace of Naldurg is, therefore, a milestone in the history of inter-state relations. It separates sharply the dreary past of blood feuds from the subsequent period of peace and prosperity. The period which followed the Naldurg peace is marked by advancement of the kingdom in almost all the spheres of life, moral, material and intellectual. The kingdom ultimately rose to its zenith in the seventeenth century.

1—Abu Turab, Hadiqua, p. 200; Ferishta, Part **III,** p. 172.

2—Zubairi, Basateen, p. 191.

CHAPTER IX

MUGHAL INVASIONS OF THE DECCAN

No sooner were the Deccan Sultanates relieved from the Southern menace of Vijayanagar, than were they brought face to face with a new power which had emerged in the North. The extinction of Vijayanagar coincided with the rise of the Mughal power under Akbar the Great, who had annexed Malwa exactly at the same time when the battle of Talikota had sealed the fate of the Forgotten Empire. The conquest of Malwa in 1565 brought the Mughal Empire in close range with the Deccan Sultanates and attracted Imperial attention, although the actual scheme of conquests was not matured before 1595 owing to the urgency of Northern problems. When the Northern conquests were completed to his satisfaction, the Emperor was in a position to divert his attention to the South to implement his Deccan scheme. Geographical contiguity had placed the unfortunate kingdom of Ahmednagar which was already in the throes of a revolution, in a position that could become a direct target of the Mughals. Husain Nizam Shah I was succeeded by his son, Murtuza Nizam Shah I in 1565 whose deranged state of mind undermined the Nizam Shahi Sultanate, with the result that many prominent personalities were disgusted with their own government and had joined the Mughal court. Murtuza's own brother, Burhan II was also one of the deserters: he left Ahmednagar and enrolled himself in th rank and file of the Mughal peerage and even induced the Mughal

Emperor to invade the Deccan Sultanates.[1] Murtuza died in 1589 and was succeeded by his son, Husain Nizam Shah II who was equally incapable of bearing the burden of kingship. His succession went a long way in precipitating the kingdom's fatal end.[2] Husain died in 1589, leaving no son to succeed to. The state dignitaries, however, solved the problem by raising to the throne a prince of royal blood, Ismail whose father, Burhan II, the rightful heir, was in the Mughal Service at Agra.

The sudden and unexpected change of circumstances at the Nizam Shahi capital placed Burhan in a state of dilemma. If he stayed on at Agra and contented himself with the Mughal peerage, he was sure to lose his ancestral throne which had devolved on him, and in case he resorted to some action it would have incurred the displeasure of the Emperor. Yet, he decided to pursue the latter course at any risk and left Agra for the Deccan. Although he had obtained the Emperor's permission to proceed to the Deccan, yet he declined the Imperial aid which had implied his subjection to Mughal suzerainty. He rather preferred help from his brother king, Raja Ali Khan of Khandesh in his attempt to seize his ancestral throne.[3] He was welcomed at Ahmednagar and in 1589 he was crowned king to the rejoicings of his subjects. His kingship naturally constituted a recession from the Mughal suzerainty. The change of attitude on the part of Burhan was extremely resentful and it was at this juncture that the Emperor made up his mind to invade the Deccan. But the

1—Ferishta, Part III, p. 152.

2—Ferishta, Part III, p. 147.

3—Ferishta, Part III, pp. 151-152; Zubairi, Basateen, pp. 194-200; Akbar Nama, Vol. III. pp. 553,587. But Abul Fazal says that Burhan was escorted by a strong Mughal army to Ahmednagar.

unfavourable circumstances that prevailed in the North retarted the scheme of conquests for some years to come. It is to be borne in mind that the scheme was originally meant to subjugate, and not to annex the Deccan Sultanates and consequently, it was not put into practice before some exploratory and reconciliatory missions were sent ever to the Deccan Durbars and reports were duly received. Shaikh Faizi, Khaja Ameeruddin, Meer Mohammed Ameer Bakshi and Mirza Masood, were the four Imperial envoys who were sent in 1591 on diplomatic missions to Khandesh, Ahmednagar, Bijapur and Golcunda respectively, with a message of goodwill and an assurance of protection provided they acknowledge the Mughal suzerainty.[1] The poet Faizi was also ordered to visit Ahmednagar and seek the submission of Burhan II. The small kingdom of Khandesh which was the first to receive the shock, could not hold out for long but submitted to the Imperial call, and with a view to confirming his loyalty, Raja Ali Khan, the then king of Khandesh gave the hand of his daughter in marriage to Akbar's eldest son, Murad.[2] But the Deccan Sultanates which lay to the South of Khandesh, gave evasive replies, couched in polite and ambiguous terms which amounted to nothing but a passive refusal.[3] It furnished a suffcient ground for the Emperor to launch his belated expedition with the object of bringing the Deccai Sultanates under Imperial suzerainty. Although the reports of the envoys were received as early as 1593, yet the adverse circumstances that prevailed in the North, did not permit the Imperial army to march before 1595.

1—Akbarnama, Vol. III. names the 3rd and 4th envoys as Meer Mohammed Razvi and Meer Muneer. p. 597.

2—Akbar Nama, Vol. III, p. 639.

3—Akbar Nama, Vol. III, p. 644.

The first expedition was mobilized in October 1595 under Prince Murad, Khan Khana and Shah Rukh Mirza. The expedition moved on slowly down the Vindhia-Chal Mountains until it reached the lowlands and highlands of the Deccan and it was here that it was reinforced by the Malwa army under Shah Rukh.[1] Ahmednagar, on the other side, with no leader to guide its destiny, was too weak to offer any resistance to the invaders. Burhan Nizam Shah II who ruled over the Kingdom to the best of his capacity, expired in 1594 and was succeeded to by his second son, Ibraheem. The latter, too, was slain in the Bijapur War within a year of his accession, leaving only an infant son, Bahadur as his successor. The Kingdom was unfortunately divided into two rival camps, headed by Ikhlas Khan and Mian Manju who had acted as lieutenants of the King in the previous reign. The former supported the cause of the infant Prince Bahadur and the latter stood for Ahmed, another boy who had the least connection with the royal family. It caused an ugly scuffle and bloodshed between the two parties and Ikhlas Khan, releasing his helplessness, went so far as to invite the Mughal Prince whose army was already on its march to Ahmednagar. A few days later, when the Mughal army was nearing Ahmednagar, the rival parties realized their own follies and sensed the danger which foreshadowed the very annihilation of the helpless Kingdom and were prevailed upon to compose their differences and make a united front against the foreign foe. Yet, none of the rival leaders was aqual to the task and, therefore it was agreed upon to call Chand Bibi from Bijapur to save her ancestral home from the impending calamity. The Heroine of the

1—Akbar Nama, Vol. III, p. 697.

2—Ferishta, Part III, pp. 158-159; Burhane Maasir, p. 611.

Deccan lost no time in hurrying to the rescue of Ahmednagar with a big Bijapur army under Suhail Khan. Golcunda too, at the call of Chand Bibi contributed its quota for the common cause under Mahdi Quli Sultan, the Golcunda General. [1]

After her arrival at Ahmednagar, Chand Bibi's first task was to declare Bahadur Nizam Shah as the rightful king and then to muster the scattered forces to face the impending danger. Murad who had, in the meantime, advanced as far as Hasht Behisht, laid siege to that fort. It was on 16th December, 1595 that the first shots were exchanged between the opposite camps and the scuffle began; on the 20th of that month, a wall and a bastion were mined and exploded by Mughal soldiers, causing a big chasm and inviting the invaders to rush in. As the Mughals were about to make a rally, Chand Bibi rushed to the scene, made her bold stand in the chasm to defy the invaders, whereupon the Nizam Shahi soldiers who had left their positions in despair, were quickened to resist the intruders. Consequently, thousands of Mughal soldiers were flung back and thrown in the ditch down below. A subsequent attack made by the Mughals met with the same fate. The Mughal generals were thus taken by surprise at the bold stand of the Heroine and they could not suppress their spontaneous feelings of regard and admiration for the unequalled valour that she had shown on the critical occasion, in spite of the frailties of the fair sex. Murad called her Chand Sultana as a mark of respect and tribute to her undaunted fortitude, and sued for peace which was concluded in January 1596. Berar was ceded to the Mughal Empire, in return for which the Mughals

1—Ferishta, Part III, pp. 159-162; Burhane Maasir, pp. 618-624.

recognised Bahadur Nizam Shah as the rightful king of Ahmednagar and withdrew their forces.[1]

The treaty so solemnly concluded was not honoured in the same spirit as was expected and the Mughal officers who were commissioned to occupy and control the newly conquered territory of Berar, committed excesses which drove them into clashes with the Deccan people and precipitated another war between the two powers. Khan Khanan and Murad advanced as far as the banks of Godavari and encamped at the historical place, Supa where they confronted the expeditionary army that was sent by Chand Bibi. It included Adil Shahi and Qutub Shahi troops contributed by the respective Kingdoms. The Qutub Shahi contingent was commanded by Tahir Khan. The whole of the Deccan army was commanded by the Adil Shahi general, Suhail Khan and arrayed according to the time-honoured tradition, that is, the Nizam Shahi army was posted at the centre, whereas the Adil Shahi and Qutub Shahi troops occupied the right and left wings respectvely. The battle commenced on 27th January, 1597 and lasted for two days, ending in a defeat of the Deccan armies. Suhail Khan fought out to his last breath and, at times, he inflicted heavy damages on several sections of the Mughal army, slaying Raja Ali Khan, the vassal king of Khandesh who had followed the Mughal invaders against his own will. Suhail Khan's death, however, changed the entire situation and the Deccanies were flung back in utter confusion. The victory afforded a favourable opportunity to pursue the defeated Deccanies upto the walls of Ahmednagar and thus capture the fort but the difference of opinion between Murad and Khan Khanan impeded the

1—Hadiqatul Alam, Part I, p. 234.

Mughal progress and relieved the Nizam Shahi Kingdom of the imminent danger for a few years.[1]

The mutual jealousy of the two generals which delayed the Mughal progress in the Deccan constituted an ugly feature of the compaign and the Emperor was well advised to call both the generals to the North. Khan Khanan complied with the Imperial command at once, but the prince lagged behind to evade the order. Thereupon, the Emperor sent his trusted secretary, Abul Fazal, to the Deccan to bring the prince back, but unfortunately the prince had expired before the former could reach Berar. The remains of the deceased prince were sent to Agra for burial to the deep grief of his father.[2] It was for this reason that the Deccan scheme of conquest was kept in abeyance for sometime and it was not till 1599 that the Emperor turned his attention to the Deccan and took the command of he Imperial Army in person.[3] As he passed Mando, he was surprised to learn that Bahadur Shah Farooqui, the young ruler of Khandesh who had succeeded his father, Raja Ali Khan in 1597, receded from his allegiance.[4] The Emperor had to tackle the new problem which arose from the disloyal behaviour of Bahadur Shah along with that of Ahmednagar. He divided his army into two parts, one bound for Khandesh and the other for Ahmednagar. The Khandesh expedition was commanded by himself, assisted by Khaja Bukhari Bakshi and that of Ahmednagar was assigned to the charge of Prince Daniyal, another son of the Emperor. The latter expedition completed its task

1—Ferishta, Part III, p. 163; Akbar Nama, Vol. III, pp. 718-719.

2—Akbarnama, Vol. III, pp. 749-753.

3—Akbarnama, Vol. III, p. 755.

4— Ibid p. 767.

of liquidating Ahmednagar before long. The city and fort were taken possession of in 1600. Ahmednagar lacked the proper defence at this juncture and Chand Bibi saw no other alternative but to commit suicide prior to the Mughal soldiers' entry into and occupation of the fort.[1] Aseergadh, on the other hand, that was situated on the heights of Satpura range, defied the Mughal arms for quite a long time. The siege protracted for two years to the utter despair of the Emperor and it was brought to successful conclusion only by the treachery of the fort garrison in 1601 and not by force of the Imperial arms.[2]

THE AGE OF MALIK AMBAR

The capture of Aseergadh was an event of great magnitude in which Emperor Akbar took legitimate pride, because the fort, commanding a strategic position, gave to the Mughal Emperor a strong foothold and paved the way for further expansions in the South. The number of inscriptions that were engraved in the city of Burhanpur as well as in the fort, recall the significant event and show how the Emperor was extremely gratified at the success and thereafter left for Lahore at once. Despite all that, the Mughal jurisdiction was confined to Berar and to the city of Ahmednagar only, and the remaining parts of the Nizam Shahi Kingdom were left untouched to survive and defy the later emperors. Yet, the fall of Aseergadh and Ahmednagar gloomed the stagnant air of the Deccan. Dark clouds hung on the political horizon, with no silver lining for the future. Mohammed Quli Qutub Shah, Ibraheem Adil Shah II and Ali Bareed

1—Ferishta. Part III. p. 164; Akbarnama, Vol. III. pp. 774-775; Dasatur, Qazi Abdul Nabi, appendix, p. 39.

2—Akbarnama, Vol. III, p. 781.

found themselves in an embarrassing situation. They were forced to change their national policy for some time and employed all the possible means at their disposal to appease the Imperial government. With a view to avoiding a clash, they not only abstained from extending their helping hand to the dying kingdom of Ahmednagar but also pleased the Emperor with rich presents, including a precious ruby from Bijapur. The Imperial envoys, Shareef Sarmadi, Masood Baig and Momin, who were respectively sent over to Bijapur, Golcunda and Bidar, to secure their allegiance to the Mughal Emperor, were respectfully welcomed and sumptuously entertained.[1] Three years later in 1604 (1013 A.H.), Mohammed Quli seized an opportunity to please the Emperor by a few more presents, including thirty richly caprisoned elephants and other curios from Telangana.[2] It was nothing short of a miracle that the tottering kingdom which was reduced to isolated parts to the North and South of the Godavari, found in a negro slave a great soldier, statesman and reformer who revived it to emerge as powerful as ever before. When the City and the fort of Ahmednagar were incorporated in the Mughal Empire in 1600 and dark clouds of despair and despondency hung on the helpless Sultanate, Malik Ambar, with a band of trusted followers, rose to the occasion and threw himself heart and soul to rebuild the Nizam Shahi Kingdom on a solid foundation.[3] When Bahadur Nizam Shah was captured and carried away to Agra, Malik Ambar raised Murtuza II, the son of Shah Ali to the throne at Parenda which served as a temporary capital

1—Akbarnama, Vol. III, p. 782.
2—Ibid, 838.
3—Akbarnama, Vol. II, pp. 787-788.
4— Maaserul Umera, Vol. III, p. 7; Zubairi, Basateen, p. 261.

Malik Ambar had a great task ahead. He had to revive a tottering kingdom which was in a chaotic state, with no governmental machinery and defensive measures. He had to set up a proper government for the maintenance of law and order and collection of revenue. The remnant of the Nizam Shahi army was utterly incapable of any military operations. Malik Ambar recruited thousands of the local peasants of Maharashtra who were known as the Bergees or Marathas and formed a light cavalry, armed with shields for defence and with swords and lances for offence. The new cavalry-men were given good training in th new scorched earth tactics and guerilla war-fare. The cavalry numbered many thousand and was fully prepared to meet any emergency, however inveterate the foe might be.[1] It helped the new ruler to strengthen the tottering Kingdom that had survived the Mughal onslaughts and then move forward to recapture the territories that had passed away to the Mughals. He encountered strong expeditions launched by Emperor Jahangir and inflicted crushing defeats on more than one occasion and advanced as far as Burhanpur. The three Mughal expeditions led by Khan Khanan, Khan-i-Azam and Ahmedullah Khan in 1610, 1611 and 1612 respectively were routed to the disgrace of the Mughal Empire.[2] It was a dreary situation which necessitated an elaborate preparation and march of fresh armies.[3] The fourth expedition mobilised under Prince Shah Jahan in 1616 was, however, successful owing to the military foresight of the prince. Malik Ambar, in consequence, was forced to sue for peace. Malik Ambar's defeat never failed to cost its gloom on the Southern Kingdoms

1—Iqbal Nama, p. 86.

2—Basateen, p. 261; Iqbal Nama, p. 66; Maaserul Umera, Vol. III p. 9.

3—Iqbal Nama, p. 66.

of Golcunda and Bijapur. It was an eye-opener to both Ibraheem Adil Shah II and Sultan Mohd. Qutub Shah and they accordingly tried to appease the Imperial envoys; Meer Makki and Jadu Das who were sent to Golcunda and Bijapur were cordially welcomed and sent off with rich presents, including precious jewels, elephants, horses and other articles of worth. The value of the gifts that were presented to the Emperor, is estimated at Rs. 15 lacs.[1] But no sooner did the prince leave the Deccan than Malik Ambar resorted to his old tactics and again started harrassing the Mughals. The fresh movement which started in 1620 broke all bounds and culminated in the capture of Ahmednagar and Berar, and the siege of Burhanpur, followed by an attack on Mandu.[2] The Southern kingdoms of Golcunda and Bijapur also responded. They contributed their quota of auxiliary forces to the help of Malik Ambar.[3] The Emperor saw no other alternative but to send Shah Jahan once again in 1620 so as to deal with the alarming situation. This time, the prince had to fight many a battle against the Maratha odds at Mandu, Burhanpur and the Deccan plains of Painghat and Balaghat before he could enter Kharkee and Patan triumphantly and could force Malik Ambar to accept humiliating terms. The capital of the Nizam Shahi Kingdom was looted by the Mughal soldiers and its buildings were razed to the utter humiliation of its citizens in 1621.[4] But the sudden change of circumstances which precipitated a civil war between

1—Iqbal Nama, p. 102.

2—Iqbal Nama Jahangeeri, p. 281.

3—According to Mohammed Khan Bakhshi, when Malik Ambar proceeded to meet Shah Nawaz Khan in 1024, he had received help from Golcunda and Bijapur. See Iqbal Nama Jahangiri, p. 85.

4—Iqbal Nama Jahangiri, p. 182; Basateen, p. 272.

Shah Jehan and the Emperor reversed the situation and helped Malik Ambar to shed the disgrace of the defeat which he had so ignominiously sustained. It was an irony of fate that the same Shah Jehan who had lately appeared on the Deccan fields as a conqueror was reduced to a helpless condition so as to seek aid from the Deccan rulers. This helped Malik Ambar to maintain the solidarity of his Kingdom for some more years.[1]

The rebellion of Shah Jehan against his father, also put the Qutub Shahi Kingdom in an irksome position. Any help extended to Shah Jehan on that occasion would have implied a breach of trust and a challenge to the Imperial authority and would have amounted to inviting great troubles. Sultan Mohammed Qutub Shah was wise enough to exercise utmost restraint and political sagacity in this regard. It was only in secrecy that he managed to supply some cash and cereals to the refugee prince,[2] though he openly followed a policy of complete neutrality.

The above account of the Kingdom's foreign policy bears testimony to the political consciousness of the Qutub Shahi Kings who never lost sight of foreign affairs and their repercussions. Mohd. Quli Qutub Shah and Sultan Mohammed were very conscientions kings who were fully alive to what moved on outside the Kingdom and formulated their foreign policy accordingly. They watched the political movements and military operations of Chand Bibi and Malik Ambar carefully and extended their helping hand on every occasion and this they did in order to safeguard their own frontiers and the solidarity of the Deccan at large.

1—Maaserul Umera, Vol. III, pp. 8-9.

2—Motamed Khan Bakhshi says that Sultan Mohammed had issued orders to his local officers at the border districts to supply cash and food provisions to the prince.
See Iqbal Nama Jahangiri, p. 215.

Part IV

The Kingdom : Its Decline and Fall

CHAPTER X

THE EARLY PHASES OF POLITICAL DECADENCE.

After the rise and the glorious achievements of the kingdom, it was necessary that the rule established by history should be proved. The course of events that followed after Sultan Mohammed, leads one to believe that a period of declension had set in. The kingdom drifted slowly towards decadence and downfall.

Sultan Mohd. was succeeded to by his eldest son, Abdullah Qutub Shah. The late king had left five children of whom Abdullah Mirza was the eldest.[1] Next to Abdullah was a daughter, Khadija Sultana, who was married to Ali Adil Shah II of Bajapur. The third son, Ibraheem Mirza who was the grandson of Ibraheem Adil Shah II through his daughter, died prematurely during the second year of Abdullah's reign. There were two more sons, Qutub Mirza

1—The French traveller Theveno gives a different version of the prince's order in age and notes that Abdullah whose mother was a Brahmin lady, was not the eldest but the second son of the king. The Brahmin lady was desirous to see her son as a king, contrived to imprison the eldest son and poisoned him to death in the tense situation when Golcunda was invaded by the Mughals in 1656 (1066 A.H.) and thus she paved a way for the accession of her own son—See Theveno. p. But the statement is not corroborated by local histories. The French traveller had visited Golcunda in 1655.

and Kamal Mirza who were born of Khurshed Bibi, another wife of the late king. Abdullah was born in 1614 A.D.(1023) and his birth was celebrated with great pomp and pageantry. The chronograms and poems which were composed on the occasion reflect on the general feelings of the time.[1] To celebrate the occasion Meer Momin wrote کم بخش جانہا "Solace for the World" and his son Mujadduddin wrote : قرۃ العین انسان "Soothing to the human eye"[2] and Nizamuddin Saidi wrote a learned poem which runs thus:

از آسماں قطبشہاں نیّر طلوع
کردہ کہ سعد گشتہ از و مہر و مشتری
مہرے طلوع کردز برج شہنشہی -
کز نور آن چو آئینہ شد سطح عنبری
درے ز درج غیب عیاں شد کہ پرتوش
شد بر فراز قبہ این سقف اخضری
این گوہر یگانہ چو از بطن نہ صدف
آمد برون بہ شعشعہ مہر خاوری
در داد این ندا پئے تاریخ عقل کل
با حسن یوسف آمد و شان سکندری
١٠٢٣ ھ

"A new star has arisen in the firmament of Qutub Shahs and lent grace to the Sun and the Jupiter,

A Sun has appeared for the king's consolation making the black face of heaven as bright as a mirror,

A gem has come out of the mysterious casket showering splendour on the dome of azure sky.

1—Saidi, p. 21.

2—Saidi, Hadiqua, part I, p. 7.

A unique pearl, shattered by nine shells has come out with the lustre and brilliance of the Sun.

And then a voice from the supreme reason was heard proclaiming that the prince has come out endowed with the beauty of Iseph and the magnificence of Alexander."[1]

A very interesting and curious story is related in history about the birth and up-bringing of Abdullah. Astrologers had predicted that the prince was inauspicious for his father who should not see him before the former reached the age of twelve. They warned the king that if he ever happened to see the child within the inauspicious period, he was bound to die. With due regard to these astrological predictions, the child was lodged and brought up in private houses, away from the Royal palace, under the care and supervision of able tutors. Meer Qutbuddin Nimatullah who was a distant relation of the Royal family, was the first scholar who was called upon to act his tutor. But unfortunately he died two years after this appointment and the prince was therefore entrusted to the care of his son-in-law, Mirza Shareef Shahristani. The latter met with the same fate when the prince was eight years old. He was followed by Khaja Muzaffar Ali who was recommended by Meer Momin for the service. He too died within two years and was followed by Moulana Husain Shirazi who was a great scholar and was fortunate enough to live longer in fulfilling the sacred task assigned to him. When the prince attained the age of twelve, he, according to the astrological advice, was brought to the palace and was introduced to his father but the latter died shortly after that event.[2]

1—Saidi, p. 7.

2—Saidi, pp. 8-10.

Abdullah who was only twelve years of age was raised to the throne after the demise of his father but before the ceremony of accession was performed, the government took great care to tighten up security measures against all possible lawlessness which usually followed a change of regime, particularly at a time when the king happened to be a minor. The security of the capital was likely to be threatened by miscreants who were up to indulge in loot and pillage. The foreign section of the population, the Persians and the Turks, who were either in government service or pursued independent professions were more nervous and felt insecurity of life and property. Consequently, Mansur Khan Habshee and his colleagues, Malik Almas and Malik Yousuf, were com missioned to control the city lest an offence against the law should ever be committed. Qasim Baig, the Commissioner of Police, was posted at the Golcunda Chowree and his deputy was stationed at Char Minar to see that neither the city nor the suberbs were disturbed by any lawless outrage.[1] The accession ceremony was performed at Mohamedi Mahal and was celebrated with usual pomp and pageantry. In keeping with the old tradition, the incumbents of the kingdom, high and low, were given clothes to wear on this occasion and scholars, divines, students and members of the venerable families like the Syeds, were bestowed with generous donations and monthly stipends. Elephants and chariots loaded with sugar moved about the main streets and thorough-fares, distributing sweets among the people and proclaiming the accession. New coins were minted in the name of the new king. Moulana Rounaqi and Faqueer Siraj who were the court poets commemorated the function with their chronograms bearing the date, 1034 A.H. "The world looked all

1—Saidi, part I. p. 20.

decorated on the occasion of king Abdullah's accession" by Rounaqi and "Abdullah, the rising star of the age, became the king of the Deccan" by Siraj[1] are worth mentioning.

HAYAT BAKSHI BEGUM.

The State administration was conducted by a Council of Regency during the minority of the boy King. The Council worked under the sole guidance of the King's mother, Hayat Bakshi Begum, though the role of the king's grand-mother, Khanam Agha carried no less importance. Hayat was born at the time when the Kingdom was on its way to the pinnacle of glory and the new city of Hyderabad was being laid out with all its architectural grandeur. The cultural influences of the time, together with the special care and training that she had received as being the only daughter of the King, contributed largely to her greatness. It is certain that she had shouldered the responsibilities of the State even in the reign of her husband. The statement of Khafi Khan that Hayat Bakshi, the mother of Abdullah, was closely associated with her husband in the conduct of state affairs, testifies to the fact.[2] We know that the office of the Peshwa was left vacant after the demise of Meer Momin in 1616 A.D. (1025) and that the King himself, with the help of Mohammad Raza and Muzaffar Ali whom he consulted in state affairs, discharged ministerial functions also. The former, Mohd. Raza, was appointed as the Dabeer. It can safely be presumed that Hayat Bakshi must have co-operated with her husband in handling the state affairs, and the peace and prosperity of the reign may be a clear proof of her active and successful

1—Saidi, part I, p. 26. مزین شد جہان از جلوس شاہ عبد الہ (رونقی) شد شاہ دکن قطب زمان عبد الہ (سراج)

2—Khafi Khan, Vol. III, p. 392.

association in the political life of the kingdom. When her minor son, Abdullah was raised to the throne, she played the role of an undisputed ruler of the realm. It was she who maintained law and order and made necessary arrangements for the accession of her son. For purposes of a sound administration, efficient officers were appointed to various posts in the State.[1] A local historian speaks of her "as a woman with wits and shrewd understanding and sound reason, who handled state affairs on her own initiative and brooked no interference from any quarter."[2]

A new government was constituted after the accession to ensure smooth administration. In the new set up, Shah Mohd. who was related to the royal family was appointed as Peshwa. But, as he lacked the merits that were required for the onerous duties of this coveted post, Shaik Mohd. Ibne Khatun who had, in the meantime, returned from Persia after completion of his ambassadorial mission, was appointed as the Deputy Peshwa so as to run the State machinery more efficiently. He was entrusted with the additional portfolio of Dabeer which was hitherto held by Mohd. Raza. Mansur Khan Habshee who had risen from the rank of Havaldar to the ministry of Ainul Mulki was further promoted to the office of Meer Jumla. Qasim Baig and Hasan Baig held the posts of Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner of Police respectively as before. As regards the lower stratum of the government service, Meer Qasim acted as Nazir, Khaja Ahmed the Turk as Sarkhail, Narayan Rao as Majumdar, Sam Rao as Shuruh Nawis and Itemad Rao as Dabeer for writing the Telugu Farmans. Some of the

1—Mahnama, p. 314.

2—Ibid, p. 314. Hayat Bakshee Begum, the dowager queen died in 1669 (1081 A.H.)

petty officers who were in charge of palace administration were also replaced.

MANSUR KHAN HABSHEE.

But, unluckily, the government lapsed into impotence owing to the inefficiency, selfishness and mutual jealousies of the officers . Mansur Khan who was promoted to the post of Meer Jumla was responsible for the increasing deterioration in administration. Mansur Khan was an uncouth and illiterate negro, absolutely unfit for the high duties he was entrusted with. He left the entire department of accountancy and finance in the hands of Hindu Brahmins who handled them in their own interest. To make the matter worse, he put on false airs of greatness and behaved rudely with the nobility and gentry who grew hostile and ranged themselves against him. Yet, nobody could represent his grievances because of Mansur's enormous influence on the king. Even the Prime Minister, Shah Mohd. felt insecure on account of his machination. The Peshwa's authority was challenged and Syed Mohd. Isfrasi was called from Northern India to replace him. The latter was an old Qutub Shahi servant but had, for some reason or other, left for the North and joined the Mughal service. Qasim Baig, the Commissioner of Police, was another victim whom Mansur contrived to degrade and thereby satisfy his personal grudge. He tried to replace the Commissioner by Mulla Taqi, the Havaldar of Masulipatam.With this object in view and in order to discredit the Commissioner, he created a scandal embroiling him with a party of unruly negroes. Although the negroes were guilty of gross breach of discipline, everything was hushed up by Mansur's bidding Qasim Baig was consequently forced to resign and he had to retire from service honourably. Mansur's plan was, however, wrecked by the

king's independent action. The king promoted Hasan Baig to the post of Commissioner instead of Mulla Taqi. Mansur Khan therefore made another plan by way of retaliation and posted his friend, Mulla Taqi as Deputy Meer Jumla, with full powers of the department. Mansur Khan, however, did not live long enough to see his sinister designs carried out in full. He died in 1628 A.D. (1038) and his Deputy, Mulla Taqi was appointed Meer Jumla in his place. Although Mulla Taqi rose to the position by a round-about way through the machinations of his friend Mansur, yet it can be said to his credit that he acquitted himself worthily. He not only checked up all government accounts strictly but also brought to book all culprits who were charged with embezzlement. A large number of Choudharies who were guilty of embezzlement were put to death. Even Narayan Rao Majumdar was called upon to clear up his accounts. A large amount of one lac and twenty thousand huns was recovered from him. In recognition of his meritorious services, Mulla Taqi was, therefore, favoured with the title of Shareeful Mulk.[1]

Even the ministerial seat of Peshwa tottered partly through the inefficiency of Shah Mohd. and partly through the machinations of his adversaries. He was elevated to the post through the influence of his mother-in-law, Khanam Agha. Shah Mohd. seemed to have failed to justify the confidence reposed in him. His inefficiency was noticeable in almost all the fields of public administration, both internal and external. He showed incompetence in handling relations with the Imperial government which had become unusually strained, with the result that the Imperial envoy, Shaik Mohd. who had lately arrived at Golcunda on

1—Saidi, p. 64.

a diplomatic mission, left the capital disappointed. His inefficiency was, however, unnecessarly magnified by the foreign clique in order to discredit Shah Mohammed and thus elevate a foreigner, Shaik Mohammed bin Khatun to the post. They made capital out of the former's shortcomings. They misrepresented him as disloyal to the state. He was denounced for having contacted Mohd. Adil Shah of Bijapur through his letters which brought to light all his sinister designs.[1] This seems to be the reason why he was thrown over board and was replaced by Shaik Ibne Khatun. Shaik's father was known as Ali who was a native of Tus. He had arrived at Golcunda during the reign of Sultan Mohammed. He had combined literary merits with administrative experience. He encouraged learning and patronized scholars who flocked to his house only to be generously rewarded. Impressed by his scholarship and political acumen, the Qutub Shahi government conferred on him the highest honour of the State. He was not only accredited to a diplomatic mission but was also nomi-

1—There is no historical evidence at hand in regard to the nature and matter of the letters. It is doubtful if the letters were authentic at all. In all likelihood, the story of disloyalty was deliberately fabricated by Shaik Mohd. who was bent upon removing his rival to satisfy his own aspirations. The letters seem to be forged with the avowed intention to discredit and oust Shah Mohd. from office. Some of the letters which were intercepted and produced before the king were in the handwriting of Shah Qazi and not Shah Mohd. Nizamuddin Saidi, a contemporary historian, contends that the letters were dictated by Shah Mohd. to Shah Qazi, because the former could not write a good hand, and as such the letters could be taken as genuine. But it is to be borne in mind that Saidi was Shaik's henchman and as such, the veracity of his statement is questionable. Saidi, however, upholds his patron's case against the minister.

nated for premiership after his return from Persia. Though he came back after the death of his patron, Sultan Mohd. yet he was appointed Deputy Peshwa by the successor government in due deference to the wishes of the late king. But it appears that he was not satisfied with this promotion as it fell short of his high expectations. Shaik coveted the full-fledged position of Premiership, and was also loath to work under a mediocre like Shah Mohd. The latter had, therefore, to be sacrificed for the ambition of Shaik. Shah Mohd. was removed from office in order to make room for this great and influential personality. Shaik Mohd. assumed the reins of government as full-fledged Peshwa in 1629 A.D. (1038). These were the qualities that accorded him a place in history next to Meer Momin.

Shaik's record of service, however, is not as laudable as that of Meer Momin. In the first place, he superseded Shah Mohd. by employing uncouth means; secondly, he gave proof of an alien mentality and expoused the cause of the foreigners at the expense of the Deccani group. A large number of foreigners were favoured with distinctions of varying order, ranging from the post of a Dabeer to that of a palace physician. Moulana Owajs who owned his rise to Shaik Mohd. was entrusted with the post of Dabeer which was hitherto held by Shaik himself. Mirza Qasim, Hakeem Nizamuddin Ahmed, Hakeem Jibrael and Ikhlas Khan who belonged to the foreign group were rewarded with various honours and distinctions. It was but natural that the foreign party looked to Shaik as its great benefactor and they spoke of his assumption of office as an event of historical significance. Moulana Arab records the event with his chronogram : "Mohd. the son of Ali became the Peshwa of the

king.[1] Nizamuddin Saidi who was a great admirer of Shaik composed poems in his honour. The historian probably owed his rise to Shaik and he therefore regarded himself as the humblest servant of the Premier, as one who deserved no more than the lowest seat in his august circle: [2]

1— محمد ابن علی پیشوائے سلطان شد Saidi, p. 66

2— این صف نعال نشی ان مجلس بہشت ایین Saidi, p. 66.

قطعہ ۱

شہے یوسف رخ و جمشید حشمت
کہ حاتم میکند از وے گدائی

ز فرط مرحمت کرده تمکن
محمد را بہ صدر پیشوائی

بہ ساماں شد مہام ملک وملت
کہ بود ابنر ز آفات سمائی

متاع فضل و دانش بود کاسد
کنون بگرفت در عہدش روائی

جہان معمور گردیده بد ان ساں
کہ شد محو از خلائق بے نوائی

بہ الہام آمد ایں مصراع تاریخ
محمد یافت ! ز حق پیشوائی

قطعہ ۲

چو نو روز است ایں عہد طرب خیز
کہ گیتی شد بہ عیش وعشق دمساز

محمد پیشوائے شاہ چوں شد
جہاں را خرمی گردید آغاز

1. The King who is as handsome as Yousuf and as magnificent as Jamsheed, and who has eclipsed Hatim in generosity, has been pleased to favour Mohammed with the high post of Peshwa.

The art and learning which had lost their worth and value are now gaining their lost prestige during his time.

The commodity of art and learning which has suffered ugly depression is now showing signs of progressive trends.

The world is so overflowing with necessities of life that no trace of poverty is left in the people.

Then the line by way of a chronogram has dawned upon me through inspiration that Mohd. won the rank of Peshwa by the grace of God.

2. "The period is as flourishing as the new year day, as a result of which the world is entirely identified with pulsating jubilations and comfort.

When Mohd. became the king's Peshwa, an era of happiness has set in for the world."

Besides the inefficiency and disloyalty of government servants which was undermining the interests of the state, one has further to admit that the kingdom suffered a lot owing to the weak character of the king. Abdullah was indolent, easy-going and indiscreet. He lacked the qualities of head and heart that go to make a successful king. We know that he remained under the supervision of his vigilant and far-sighted mother during his boyhood. His mother's control was so rigid that he was not allowed to leave her for a moment.[1] But this control failed to produce the desired effect. When he grew up and assumed the reins of

1— فرزند را دمے از حضور جدا نمی کرد Mahnama, p. 313.

government independently, he showed no administrative ability that was required for the guidance of a great kingdom like that of Golcunda. He failed miserably in handling State affairs. He not only avoided war or any other kind of military engagement but also paid little attention to the serious problems of the State with the result that government passed into the hands of faithless officers who handled it in their own interest. The fort of Golcunda was, to the utter humiliation of the kingdom not properly defended against the Mughal besiegers in 1656 A.D. The Nizam Shahi Sultanate was left alone to solve its problems in 1633 which marked a total reversal of the time-honoured policy of the Qutub Shahi kings. To add to this, the fall of Ahmednagar, too, sealed the fate of both Bijapur and Golcunda.

Abdullah Qutub Shah lived a life of ease and frivolity, devoid of any serious purpose or objective. He was exceedingly fond of picnics and pleasure parties. He used to go out of the capital in every rainy season and used to enjoy fresh breeze and green foliage. In the first year of his reign, he paid a visit to the Lingampalli Garden and Banat Ghat and there he spent two months in revelling and merry-making.[1] Next year, he celebrated his birthday ceremony on a grand scale which entailed a heavy expenditure amounting to thousands of rupees. Royal buildings and gardens were lavishly illuminated and singing and dancing parties were arranged.[2] In 1628 he visited the Hill palace which was known as Koh-i-Tur and remained there for one month in frivolous pastime. He went out again in 1630 and visited

1—Saidi, part I, pp. 32-33.

2—Saidi, part I, pp. 35-36.

various gardens to enjoy the monsoonish weather.[1] The year 1632 was marked by his hair cutting ceremony which was celebrated at Hayatabad, a township situated at a distance of twelve miles to the East of Hyderabad. The royal procession moved to that town on 5th February where durbars were held and revelling parties were arranged with the accompaniment of music and dance. Hayat Bakshi Begum, the king's mother who played the role of the master of the ceremony, defrayed the entire expenses of the function out of her own pocket.[2] The following lines which were composed on that occasion echo the jubilation that had accompanied the function :—

قطعہ

چو نوروز است ایں عید طرب خیز -
شدہ در بزم عشرت جام لبریز
شگفتہ غنچہ شادی زہر دل -
نوائے نغمہ چو لحن عنادل
گلستان ارم گردیدہ عالم -
گل بے خار گشتہ عیش بے غم

"This festival is as joyful as a new year day,
The bowls are filled with wine in the revelling parties;
Every heart is blooming with joy like buds
And musical tunes are playing sweet like the song of a nightingale:
The world has won the cloak of the Garden of Eden,

1—Saidi, p. 107.
2—Ibid, pp. 105-6.

The flowers are without thorns and pleasure without pain." [1]

Abdullah also took equal pleasure in the observance of religious ceremonies. He took an active part in religious rituals. The holy days of Moharram and Rabi I were observed with great reverence and devotion. Royal buildings were illuminated and generous donations were given to the poor and needy.

1 Ibid, pp 75-76.

CHAPTER XI

THE FALL OF AHMEDNAGAR AND THE SUBJECTION OF GOLCUNDA

The untimely death of Sultan Mohammed Qutub Shah in 1626 A.D. (1035) was a sad prelude to the decline and fall of the Golcunda Kingdom. It was a strange coincidence that the three rulers of the Deccan, Sultan Mohammed, Malik Ambar and Ibraheem Adil Shah II who had upheld the prestige of the Deccan to the last, expired simultaneously.[1] Their tragic end sounded a death-knell to the integrity of the country and precipitated the fall of the three Sultanates. The strong bulwark that was built by Malik Ambar, in alliance with the neighbouring powers, had now collapsed. Soon after his death and as a sequal thereof, the poor kingdom of Ahmednagar which had withstood many furious storms, was ultimately wiped out in less than a decade. Its extinction not only removed the last vestige of resistance which the Nizam Shahs had offered in the North of the Deccan but also paved a way for further penetration of the Mughals in the South. The kingdoms of Golcunda and Bijapur were brought face to face with the Mughal power and were reduced

1—Sultan Mohamed died on 13th Jamadi I 1035 (1626 A.D.) and Malik Ambar, on 24th Shaban 1035 (1626, A.D.), whereas Ibraheem Adil Shah II expired one and a half year later, that is, on 11th Muharam 1037 (1627 A.D.).
See Bilgrami, Landmarks of the Deccan. p. 139: Zubairi, Basateen. pp. 274, 282.

to vassalage immediately after the fall of Doulatabad. Golcunda was, at that time, unfortunately ruled by a minor king, Abdullah who, even after attaining majority, failed to justify the confidence that was reposed in him and, therefore, the kingdom had to share the same fate as that of her neighbours. The year 1626 is therefore a memorable landmark which stands as a dividing line between the era of prosperity and that of the decline and fall that followed.

The main factor which led to the sudden collapse of Ahmednagar after the death of Malik Ambar was the dearth of able and faithful administrators. Malik Ambar was succeeded by his eldest son, Fateh Khan who was good for nothing. He was as inefficient in the discharge of state duties and he was faithless in character. He was at last thrown into confinement by Murtuza II as a result of his treacherous movements. [1] Fateh Khan, however, managed to escape from the prison and, in alliance with Sipahdar Khan, the Mughal governor of Ahmednagar, attacked his own state. But he was defeated and imprisoned again in the fort of Doulatabad. Ikhlas Khan who was appointed Peshwa in his place, tried his level best to conduct the civil and military administration for some time. Taking advantage of the friendly attitude of Khan-i-Jahan Lodi, the Mughal governor of the Deccan, Murtuza had strengthened his kingdom. The Mughal governor dealt with the kingdom very liberally and even handed over the territorial possessions of the kingdom which had passed into the Mughal hands, quite against the policy and interests of the Imperial government. [2] Emperor Jahangir died in the meantime and was succeeded by Shah Jahan in

1—Zubairi, Basateen, p. 286.

2—Lahori, Padshahnama, Vol. I, Part I, p. 249: Zubairi, Basateen, p.

1628. The young Emperor could not notice the treacherous movements of Khan-i-Jahan at the outset but, when he came to know the real working of his mind later on, he replaced him by appointing Zaman Khan, the son of Mahabat Kha .[1] The displacement irritated Khan-i-Jahan and, consequently he rose in revolt at Agra where he had retired after his departure from the Deccan. Chased by the Imperial army, he fled to the Deccan and took refuge at Murtuza Nizam Shah's who had received him hospitably. But this unfortunate step on the part of Murtuza was strongly resented to by the Imperial government which, combined with the seizure of the Balaghat possessions by Ahmednagar. contributed largely to the final rupture.[2]

The young Emperor who was on the look-out for an excuse to move his armies against the Deccan kingdoms, was impelled to launch an attack. He was, in fact, anxious to restore, some how or other, his personal as well as the Imperial prestige which was considerably impaired during his rebellion against his father. We are aware of the fact that Shah Jahan had roamed about in the Deccan and sought the help of the Deccan kings in his sad plight and was thus aware of the Deccan affairs. This was, probably, the reason why he marched towards the Deccan in 1629 and camped at Burhanpur so as to be within a close range of the military operations. He rushed three columns of armies under Azam Khan, Khaja Abul Hasan and Naseri Khan for Balaghat, Nasik and the Eastern Telangana respectively. These columns were fairly successful. Azam Khan defeated Khan-i-Jahan at Balaghat and occupied Dharur and Qandhar. Khaja Abul Hasan was equally victorious at

1—Lahori, Padshah Nama, Vol. I, Part I, p. 273.
2—Ibid pp. 276, 290.

Nasik and Sangam.[1] The Nizam Shahi administration further deteriorated owing to the trouble that brewed at home in the meantime. Murtuza was obliged to release Fateh Khan and reinstate him in the post of Peshwa with the expectation that he would strengthen the kingdom and enable it to face the rising tide of the Mughals. But Fateh Khan, strangely enough, had not even the goodnes to thank the king. He, on the contrary, tried to get his knife into the king's heart and thus, like a scourge of the human race, gave the death blow to his own master. Hussain Nizam Shah III, the ten year old son of the late king was then installed on the throne. But the heinous act of treachery did not remain unpunished. The shameless act roused indignation among the Nizam Shahi subjects.[2] People rose in revolt against Fateh Khan who had no alternative but to surrender to Shah Jahan. The Emperor, too, made an exuberant demand and asked him to hand over all the elephants and cash and jewels that belonged to the Nizam Shahs. Fateh Khan evaded the demand for some time and, consequently, a fresh army marched to Doulatabad under Wazeer Khan and Muqarrab Khan.[3] The latter had enrolled himself in the Mughal peerage after his displacement at Ahmednagar and was honoured with the title of Rustum Khan. Fateh Khan became apprehensive and sent his son, Abdur Rasool for reconciliation. The Mughal army entered the fort on 21st September 1633 (1043 A.H.)[5], and Husain Nizam Shah was imprisoned in the Gawaliar fort and Fateh Khan was

1—Lahori. Padshah Nama, Vol. I, part I, pp. 294-306-318, 357-358.

2—Ibid p. 442, Zubairi, Basatin, p. 296.

3—Ibid p. 410.

4—Ibid pp. 410-527.

5—Lahori, Padshah Nama, Vol. I. part I, p. 528; Zubairi, Basateen p. 304.

enrolled in the Mughal peerage with an annuity of two lacs. [1] The name of the Emperor was recited in the Khutba and also inscribed on coins in the year 1633 (1043 A.H.).

This course of events signified a temporary lull and did not portend a lasting peace. Fateh Khan was anything but reliable and Adil Shah, on the other side, was making feverish preparations to march by might and main to the rescue of Nizam Shahi kingdom. Moreover, Shahji, the old fief-holder of Ahmednagar was determined to offer stiff resistance to the Mughals. He had joined the Mughal service sometime back but had abandoned it by way of a protest and ranged himself against the Mughals in collaboration with Bijapur. [2] Fateh Khan and Shahji who were hitherto at logger heads were now brought closer by the mediation of Randola Khan who tried to form a triple alliance. When Mahabat Khan laid seige to the Doulatabad fort on 14th March 1633 (1043 A.H.) Shahji, Randola Khan and Morarji harrassed the Mughal besiegers outside the fort. Mahabat's military experience was, however, more than a match to them. He

1—Lahori, Padshahnama, Vol. I, part. I, pp. 540-541.

2—Shahji was a fief-holder of the Nizam Shahi kingdom. But he had changed his affiliation and gone over to Shah Jahan when the latter had arrived at Burhanpur, in protest against Murtuza Nizam Shah who had murdered Luckhoji Jadu Roy, the father-in-law of Shahji. But this affiliation did not continue for long. When Fateh Khan surrendered himself to Shah Jahan, the Jagir assignments which were conferred on Shahji were taken away from him and were given to Fateh Khan. This change of attitude on the part of the Emperor enraged Shahji. He broke away from the Mughal service and, coming back to the Deccan, he espoused the cause of his ancestral kingdom.
See Zubairi, Basatin, pp. 304-305-306.,

managed to explode the rampart of Mahakot and thus captured the fort.[1]

The fall of Doulatabad was, by no means, the end of the Nizam Shahi Kingdom. It had a remarkable tenacity of life. Some of the far-flung territories like Junair, Poona and Chakan which were held by local officers still lingered on. Parenda under Shahji was another strong-hold which defied the Mughal authority. It was at this spot that Shahji conserved his power in the name of the Nizam Shahi prince and, taking advantage of the absence of Shah Jahan and the death of Mahabat Khan, launched incessant raids on the Mughal territory.[2] Consequently, Shah Jahan was back again in 1635 (1045 A.H.). He proceeded from Burhanpur to Doulatabad in order to handle the Deccan affairs in person. His first step after his arrival was to issue stern warnings, through the Mughal Hajibs, to Golcunda and Bijapur not to align themselves with the Nizam Shahi power. It was brought to the notice of the Emperor that there were secret pacts between Golcunda and Bijapur on the one side and between the said two powers and the Nizam Shahs on the other. The Imperial army was, therefore, divided into three columns and was placed under able generals namely, Khan Douran, Khan Zaman Khan and Shaista Khan. The first was intended for Qandhar and Nanded to check the advance of the Golcunda and Bijapur armies. The second column was intended for Ahmednagar to invade Ashti and Konkan, whereas the third was for Junair and Nasik. Although the Mughal army was overwhelmingly large in number and Mohammed Adil Shah, the king of Bijapur had also acknowledged the Mughal suzerainty and his general, Randoola Khan

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1—Zubairi, Basateen, pp. 302, 304.
2—Ibid, pp. 304-5-6.

was co-operating with the Mughal general by way of a stratagem, yet the campaign protracted for months before Shahji was forced to lay down his arms in 1635 (1045 A.H.).[1] After his surrender, he was permitted to join the Adil Shahi service. Then came the sad end of the unfortunate Nizam Shahi Sultanate for which the Mughal Empire had constantly tried for over forty years.

The liquidation of the Nizam Shahi Kingdom was a great national calamity for the Deccan. Its repercussions were not confined to the boundaries of the defunct state but they swept off the whole tableland. The Southern Sultanates of Bijapur and Golcunda that had hitherto maintained their integrity under the buffer protection of Ahmednagar, lost their sovereignty as its immediate result. Shah Jahan was very sympathetic towards Golcunda in his princely days, for he was under a heavy obligation to that kingdom for the timely help he had received in his sad plight in 1627. He had sent his felicitations to king Abdullah on his accession in the same manner as the kings of Bijapur and Ahmednagar had sent their own to Golcunda.[2] But he had changed his mind after he ascended the Imperial throne. He adopted a stern and unfriendly outlook and exacted heavy tributes and enormous presents. The king and his government were bound to comply with the Imperial orders. The change of attitude was noticeable even in the embassy of Shaik Mohiuddin, Peerzada of Ujjain who was sent over to persuade the Southern kingdoms to rest on their laurels and keep themselves aloof from Nizam Shah and Khan Jahan. The attitude which Peerzada had adopted was rather unbecoming and undignified than that of the previous envoy, Ikhlas Qazweeni. King Abdullah

1—Zubairi, Basateen, pp. 315-316,
2—Saidi, part I, p. 28,

and his prime minister grew so apprehensive of the Imperial government that they showed undue hospitality to the envoy which could amount to a blot on the scutcheon and put down their political prestige. Syed Abdullah Khan and Meer Qasim were commisioned to accord reception to the envoy both outside and inside the Golcunda territory. The former welcomed him outside Golcunda limits and the latter greeted him with open arms inside the territory. The envoy enjoyed sumptuous feasts at every stage of his journey. The king himself proceeded as far as Houz Durag for his reception. He was lodged in the garden of Mirza Mohd. Ameen and was given rich presents. Whenever he visited the royal palace, he was loaded with rich presents. He received elephants, horses, robes of honour and other gifts. At the outset, when the envoy was invited to the palace he was presented with an elephant, two horses and other gifts and similar gifts were offered to him on subsequent occasions and thus he was very fortunate to amass fifty thousand in cash, ten elephants, fifty horses and many robes of honour. His retinue also made a lot of money.[1]

The envoy, however, tried to take advantage of the situation and exploit the weakness of the government that had become self-evident. He therefore adopted an impetuous attitude and made exuberant demands to which the king and the minister had to yield. It was at this juncture that king Abdullah was well advised to replace Shah Mohd. by Shaik Mohammed Ibne Khatun who had hitherto acted as Deputy Peshwa.[2] Shaik Mohd. who was a man of proven ability and experience and had performed diplomatic services in foreign countries was equal to the occasion and quite a

1—Saidi, pp. 62-63.

2—Saidi, part I, p. 66,

match to the Imperial envoy. He forced the envoy to observe court etiquete and reported his rude behaviour to Asaf Khan, the Mughal commander posted in the Deccan. The report was carefully considered by higher authorities and the envoy was reprimanded. He was called back in 1630 (1040 A.H.) when Shah Jahan had come to Burhanpur. Yet at the time when the envoy left Golcunda, he was given some more presents as parting gifts which consisted of elephants, horses and twenty thousand huns. Wafa Khan, whose original name was Yousuf, was deputed to accompany the Mughal envoy and represent the king of Golcunda at the Mughal court. The Emperor was naturally delighted to receive the costly gifts from Golcunda: the gold, and the weapons bedecked with jewels as also the elephants and horses could not but win his appreciation and the result was that he reprimanded Shaik Mohiuddin.[1]

The political interference of the Mughal government was not the only trouble which afflicted the kingdom but constant raids of the Mughals had also aggravated the situation. The flames of Ahmednagar war that was then being waged ferociously, did not leave Golcunda unscathed. Nasiri Khan, the Mughal commander had advanced as far as Qandhar which lay in the vicinity of the Golcunda territory. The Qutub Shahi Government was therefore forced to keep her weather-eye open and ordered her forces to be on the qui vive. Adam Khan Habshee, the then War Minister marched to Kolas, the Northern frontier of the Qutub Shahi kingdom, to encounter the imminent Mughal offensive. He was accompanied by Alla Quli Baig and other military officers. No clash, however, took place on that occasion.[2]

1—Saidi, p. 78.

2—Saidi, part I, p. 79.

Yet, the North-Eastern frontier was disturbed by Mughal raids. Baqir Khan Najam Sani, the Mughal governor of Orissa, had pentrated into Qasim Kota. He not only ravaged Kala Pahad but he also made large-scale preparations to storm Rajamundry. Syed Mohammed Mustafa Khan who commanded the Qutub Shahi garrison at Qasim Kota was greatly alarmed and therefore reported the matter to the central government. A strong force was despatched from Golcunda under Syed Abdullah Khan, Shah Ali and Yaqoob Khan. Syed Mustafa Khan died in the meantime and the vacancy was filled by Abdullah Khan who was no match to the Mughal invader. He was beaten back and the Qutub Shahi army was routed. Shah Ali too died in the course of the conflict. Khaja Afzal Turka who was the governor of the Guntur sarkar, was then sent to take charge of the defence. He challenged Baqir Khan but the war came to a stand-still by the timely intervention of the Imperial government which denounced the skirmishes as uncalled for. Baqir, therefore, withdrew his forces in compliance with the Imperial orders.[1]

The temporary allegiance of Fateh Khan in 1642 (1032 A.H.) gave a sufficient impetus for further action and the Emperor was determined to subdue the Southern Sultanates. A Mughal envoy, namely, Shah Ali was sent to Golcunda forthwith to over-awe the king and sqeeze more gold and jewels from him. This action was taken in spite of the fact that the Golcunda envoy, Wafa Khan waited on the Emperor at Burhanpur. In the meantime, however, the Mughal affairs suffered a set-back in the Deccan. Bijapur had made a bold front against the Mughals in alliance with the Nizam Shahi power and had inflicted a crushing defeat

1—Saidi, pp. 80-81-82.

on Asaf Khan, the Mughal commander.[1] It offered a golden opportunity to the Golcunda government and consequently, king Abdullah and his minister, Shaik Mohammed who closely watched the course of events, now resorted to some delaying tactics and evaded the demand of the Emperor, though they failed to contribute their might to safeguard the common cause of the Deccan. The Imperial envoy was no doubt welcomed and was offered sumptuous feasts, but he could not achieve the object for which he was sent.[2]

However, the conquest of Doulatabad by Mahabat Khan in 1633 (1044 A.H.) reversed the whole position and upset the political set-up of the Deccan. Shah Jahan was back again to personally attend to the Deccan affairs which were greatly confused owing to the predatory raids of Shahji. Golcunda and Bijapur which still maintained their independence under the protection of the buffer state of Ahmednagar had now become too weak to withstand the Mughal onslaughts and continue to offer stiff resistance. They had no alternative but to part with their sovereign powers and submit to the Mughal suzerainty. Yet, Bijapur showed greater strength and higher calibre against the Mughal aggression than did her sister kingdom, Golcunda. The rulers of Bijapur fought to the last and never condescended to surrender their rights at any cost. They not only strained every nerve to rescue the tottering kingdom of the Nizam Shahs which stood as a bulwark against the Mughal upsurge, but made sustained efforts to maintain the independent position of not only Bijapur but also that of Golcunda. They not only fought against Asaf Khan and Shah Jahan for the security of the

1—Saidi, p. 102; Lahori, Padshahnama, Vol. I, part I, p. 416; Zubairi, Basateen, p. 249.

2— Saidi, p. 103.

kingdom even after the fall of Doulatabad but also employed all the possible means at their disposal to raise the morale of the Golcunda government and invited them, through Shaik Dabeer, to co-operate with the former and make a grand alliance. Golcunda was persuaded not to surrender to the Mughals without seeking advice from Bijapur.[1] It responded to the Adil Shahi call as a temporary measure[2] but it ultimately collapsed under Mughal pressure. The inherent weakness of Abdullah's government wrecked the whole scheme of defence. Golcunda forestalled Bijapur in surrendering her sovereign rights and acknowledging the Mughal suzerainty against her commitments with Bijapur. This was, perhaps, the reason why Golcunda felt nervous and feared an Adil Shahi onslaught for the breach of trust on her part and requested the Imperial government for help.[3] The surrender of Golcunda shattered all hopes and forced Bijapur to enter into a similar disgraceful treaty and line up with the Mughals. Had Golcunda held her spirit high and co-operated with Bijapur, their concerted action would, perhaps, have saved the integrity of the Deccan even after the fall of Doulatabad. Bijapur fought single-handed to the last but was deterred by the weak policy of Golcunda. They were already in receipt of harsh notes from the Emperor as early as the latter had reached Hindia, situated on the banks of the Narbada, to give up their unfriendly attitude and identify themselves with the Mughal cause. The Imperial messages were communicated to the Bijapur and Golcunda kings through Makramat Khan and Abdul Lateef Gujrati respectively.[4] They were couched in pe-

1—Saidi, p. 129.
2—Lahori, Vol. I, Part II, p. 125.
3—ibid, pp. 179-180.
4—ibid, pp. 125-130.

remptory terms. The message that was addressed to Golcunda contained three categorical injunctions namely, 1—the discontinuance of anathema, 2—the abandonment of the name of the Safavide King and replacement thereof by the Emperor's own name in both the Friday sermons and coins, 3—the supply of rich presents. Following is the full text of Shah Jahan's message addressed to the Golcunda king, Abdullah:—

"Qutbul Mulk, who is richly endowed with the highest Imperial favours, should know that Our Imperial Majesty, are the sovereign of Islam, the promoter of the dynamic faith as preached by the Lord of the whole creation and are also the defender of Sunni creed. It behoves us to promote the injunctions of the luminous faith and the laws of the illustrious creed, and wipe out all the traces of heresay and blasphemy in every part of the country where our august orders prevail. It has come to our notice that in the kingdom of the Exalted Qutub, the eminent disciples of Islam are villified and disgraced in public, the disciples whose virtues and excellence are confirmed by the Quranic verses and the traditions, and whose personalities with their inherent and outward merits are in harmony with their close intimacy with the Prophet, peace and blessings be on him. You, the mainspring of power, do not check the evil and do not punish the wrong doers. For this reason, we are issuing orders for guidance that this evil and abhorrent practice should cease in your dominion. In case any one has the misfortune to commit this sin, he should be taken to task. If you fail in your duty and do not respond to our wish, it will be incumbent on us to plan the conquest of your dominion and consider the men and material thereof as our own and consider it lawful to spell the blood of the people without the

least compunction. It is further brought to our notice that the Friday sermon recited in the kingdom bears the name of the Persian King. If you, the mainspring of power, acknowledge our suzerainty, why should you throw your lot with a foreign power. It is imperative that the name of the Persian king should be removed and our illustrious name should be read in the sermon. Secondly, the amount of the tribute, the detailed statement of which is signed by the revenue officer and is appended to this illustrious firman, should be fully paid. It is deemed necessary to commission an experienced secretary to that direction, so that he might bring home to you the points raised in the firman and make it clear to you that our Imperial Majesty bestow on you our royal favours and entrust the kingdom to you in recognition of the sincere and devoted service rendered to us by your father, the late Qutbul Mulk.

"On the condition of unswerving loyalty and faithful compliance with the Imperial command which is of an undoubted validity, as also of the payment of Imperial dues, we consider ourselves bound to see that no harm would befall the kingdom on account of the officers of our mighty state. In order to again acquire from you, (the mainstay of peerage) first class jewels, jewel-bedecked articles and magnificent elephants like Dak Samander and Basheer that were supplied by your father by way of tribute combined with other presents, we are now sending to you (the mainstay of peerage and nobility), Mulla Abdul Lateef, who is an experienced servant of the Empire, the sanctuary of the people, despite the fact that he is attached to the Home Department and, as such, is indispensable to the personal staff of our Imperial Majesty. We have given him all the instructions that are to be communicated to you (the centre of heavenly dignity and magni-

ficence). He is ordered to carry out what is contained in the firman and what he is orally instructed. The despatch of tribute and presents should be so arranged and scheduled as to reach and be presented to the Imperial Majesty through the aforesaid envoy, on the occasion of Nouroz at Doulatabad. The jewels and elephants supplied as tribute should be as fine and excellent as could be commensurate with your prestige. Entertain no doubts, whatsoever, that if you are not persuaded to obey these orders and mend your ways according to these binding injunctions and fail to send the tribute to the Imperial Court with celestial grandeur, the Court which is a heavenly refuge and a sanctuary for the inhabitants of the seven Planets, in the manner laid down in the all-binding and world-obeying order, our mighty forces and victorious armies would march to your kingdom, and you will be solely responsible for whatever the country and the people might suffer in consequence."[1]

The peremptory firman, followed by the very presence of Shah Jahan in the Deccan was enough to frighten king Abdullah. He immediately sent his own envoy, Mulla Taquia to the Emperor, along with rich presents, long before Abdul Lateef entered Golcunda territory. Mulla was granted audience at Doulatabad where the Emperor was staying for some days and presented him with elephants and jewels worth one lac and twenty thousand rupees.[2] The Imperial envoy, Abdul Lateef was also accorded a grand welcome and was feasted sumptuously at Golcunda. He was received by Kareem Khan and later by Meer Moizuddin Musharrif when he entered the Golcunda territory and by Shaik Mohamed Tahir when he approached the vicinity of

1—Lahori, Padshahnama, Vol. I, part II, pp. 131-132.
2—Ibid, p. 142.

Hyderabad. He was rewarded countless presents when he was ushered in the royal court. But, according to the Golcunda historian, the Emperor was in the dark. He had no report of the reception which was accorded to the Imperial envoy and the terms accepted by the Golcunda king. Under the false impression that the Deccan kings were still opposed to the Imperial policy, the Emperor despatched two divisions of his army under Khan-i-Douran and Khan-i-Zaman for Golcunda and Bijapur respectively. The former advanced as far as Nanded which lay on the border of Golcunda. King Abdullah commissioned Naseerul Mulk, Ainul Mulk, Youlchi Baig and Shujaul Mulk to proceed ahead for defence. In the capital, he made necessary preparations and stored arms and ammunition in the fort. The Imperial envoy, Abdul Lateef was perturbed to see the war preparations and advised his government to accept the terms offered by Abdullah. [1]

But the precautionary measures that were adopted by the Qutub Shahi government for its security came to naught, because the government had no alternative but to accede to the Imperial terms. Abdul Lateef was invited by Shaik Mohamed to a sumptuous dinner served at Nabi Bagh in 1635 (1045 A.H.) and settled terms with him. After the dinner was over, a treaty or more correctly, a 'Subjection Document' انقیاد نامہ was drafted, which contained all the terms that were dictated by the Imperial government, namely, the recital of the Emperor's name in the Friday Sermon after the names of the four Caliphs, inscribing of the name on coins and the payment of two lac huns which amounted to eight lac rupees either to the Emperor or to his representative in the Deccan, with the further commitment

1—Saidi, part II, manuscript, Salar Jung Library, pp. 4-5.

to pay the arrears of thirty lacs in instalments with the difference of exchange rate. A sum of rupees one lac was paid forthwith as the first instalment. The Imperial Government, in exchange, held itself responsible for the support of Golcunda in case the latter suffered a rebuff from Bijapur.[1]

Following is the full text of the aforesaid agreement in which king Abdullah accepted all the terms dictated by the Mughal Government and acknowledged Mughal supremacy in explicit words:—

"This is a covenant from king Abdullah, the well-wisher and the most sincere and devoted servant of the Empire. As the Imperial Majesty (the image and vicegerant of God on earth, Solomon in dignity, the 2nd holder of the conjunction of the two Planets, may God perpetuate his state and sovereignty and may his munificence and generosity transcend to the whole world and may thousand noble souls bow to this illustrious name and title) has, out of his inherent compassion and innate generosity, conferred this dominion on the humble servant of the Empire to continue in my family for generations to come on the following conditions, namely that the hereditary devotee, in all sincerity and good faith, gives his pledge that the names of four Disciples would be expressly and unceasingly recited in the Khutba and the illustrious name and the titles of His Majesty would embellish the Friday and Id sermons. The old practice which was hitherto in vogue would never be repeated. The silver and gold coins would be minted in imitation of the Imperial coins, the models of which have been supplied from the Capital. I also undertake to remit to the Imperial

1—Saidi, part II, Manuscript, Salar Jung Library, pp. 4-5.

treasury two lac huns, which are equivalent to eight lac rupees from the beginning of the ninth year of the reign, and also four lac huns more that were earmarked for Nizamul Mulk. The remittance would be arranged in a manner that the sum would either be paid to the princes of royal blood, (with noble birth and prosperity) if one would be placed in charge of the Deccan administration or to any state dignitary who would be appointed to control the province as governor. I would also remit to the Imperial treasury as the first instalment eight lac rupees, out of the thirty lac that are calculated as outstanding till the end of the eighth year of the Emperor's accession and two lac huns more from the next, that is the ninth year. I also guarantee the payment of an extra amount which would accrue as a result of the difference of exchange rate between the huns and the Mughal rupees in respect of both the tribute and the price of jewels, horses and elephants and the same policy would be pursued in regard to the articles which would be supplied in the forth-coming years. I also declare that I would henceforth identify myself with the allies and act antagonistically with the enemies of the Empire so that my honesty and sincerity would be fully evident. In the presence of the most respected Abdul Lateef (the repository of excellence and high merits) laying my hand on the Holy Quran, I take the solemn pledge that I would never commit any wrong in contravention of the agreement I have undertaken. If, God forbid, I happen to commit any wrong, any action on the part of the Imperial government to annex my dominion would be perfectly justified. As I have forsetalled other states of the Deccan in offering allegiance to the Imperial Majesty, the rival states have stiffened their unfriendly attitude towards me. In case the Adil Shahi government, out of their narrow vision and

loss of foresight, ever venture to make an encroachment upon my dominion, it is up to the State dignitaries who would be entrusted with the governorship of the Deccan after the Imperial Majesty returns to the capital, to send prompt help in the pressing need. In case the governor of the Deccan turns his deaf ears to my appeal and the Adil Shahi government succeeds in harassing my subjects and extract money from this humble servant, the amount so paid would be deducted from eight lacs due to the Imperial treasury every year. These few words are put in black and white to serve as an authoritative document. Dated Zihajja, April 1636 (1045)."[1]

Abdul Lateef who had brought the Imperial message in January 1636 (1045 A.H.) was stationed at Hyderabad for six months after the conclusion of the treaty in order to see that it was carried out in full. A sumptuous feast was served in his honour at Hyderabad before he was seen off with rich gifts. He was given costly presents as parting gifts worth one thousand sovereigns, namely, an elephant and fifty horses and when he left for the Imperial capital on 25th June 1636, Shaik Mohammed Tahir was commissioned to accompany him and to represent the Qutub Shahi government at the Imperial Court. The said envoys were received by the Imperial representatives, Shah Ali Baig, Mirza Khan Quli and Afzal Khan in the vicinity of Doulatabad and they were welcomed in the Imperial Court with marks of honour commensurate with their position. The rich presents that were offered to the Emperor through the said envoys on that occasion included one hundred elephants, fifty Arab horses, jewels and other fine articles the value of which was assessed at 4 lacs of Rupees.[2] When the Qutub Shahi envoy asked

1—Lahori, Padshahnama, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 178-179-180.
2—Lahori, Padshahnama, Vol. I, Part II, p. 177.

for permission to return home, he was awarded elephants, costly robes and a portrait of the Emperor set in a golden frame to be presented to the Golcunda king. When the Emperor was fully satisfied with the friendly and respectful attitude of the Golcunda king and the faithful implementation of the treay, he confirmed the document and guaranteed the execution thereof on behalf of the Imperial Government after four months. The document was ratified by the Emperor in the following words on 29th August 1636 (1046 A.H.).[1]

"Qutubul Mulk, (the Mainspring of dignity and nobility, the mainstay of grandeur and magnificence, the choice of the world's statesmen, the leader of politicians, the cream of devotees) should note that he (of celestial dignity) has offered allegiance to our heavenly court, embellished the 'kutba,' with the illustrious names of the pious Caliphs, adorned it with our high sounding titles, and accordingly the names are recited on the pulpits publicly in the whole dominion: the gold and silver coins are minted in imitation of the Imperial coins: and it has also been legally laid down that the 'khutba, would be recited in the same manner throughout the dominion, and that coins would be minted according to the Imperial model and Qutbul Mulk has paid the amount of tribute which we have stipulated and he has further committed that two lacs huns, equivalent to eight lac rupees, the amount of which was advanced to Nizamul Mulk as subsidy, would be remitted to the Imperial treasury every year. We are, therefore, pleased to condone his past sins and confirm the dominion which is in his jurisdiction in his favour. Invoking God and Prophet as witness, we declare that we shall never break our pledge provided that Qutubul Mulk and his progeny observe the terms

1—Lahori, Padshahnama, Vol. I, Part II, p. 211.

in full. God willing, the dominion will receive no harm from us, from our sons and state dignitaries. Nothing will be done in contravention of the treaty obligations which are engraved on the gold plate and stand as sacred as "the indelible Table." This declaration shall be respected from generation to generation as Alexander's rampart. The document was written on 7th Rabi II, 1046, 29th August 1636, the Ninth year of the Emperor's reign."[1]

King Abdullah received the document as a mark of great Imperial favour and acknowledged it very humbly and gratefully in the humblest possible and the most humiliating terms he could express. He also presented to the Emperor gratefully one of his best and highly priced elephants named Gajmuti and a precious jewel as a token of his submission. The jewel which was valued as being worthy of fifty thousand rupees, was very courtiously demanded by the Emperor when Abdul Lateef and Nihal Chand, the jeweller, returned from Golcunda and gave a description of the jewel in possession of the Golcunda king. Nihal Chand, for that matter, had been sent to Golcunda, along with Abdul Lateef to assess the value of jewels. On receiving the report that king Abdullah posessed a costly ruby on his finger ring unequalled in its size, colour and lustre, the Golcunda king was asked to send the jewel as a present, and the latter had to comply with the request. The Emperor was highly pleased o see the jewel.[2] The letter written by king Abdullah to express his gratitude reads as follows:—

"The petition is from the faithful servant and loyal devotee of the Empire, Qutbul Mulk. After paying my humble tribute and offering warm wishes to the Most Exalted

1—Lahori, Padshahnama, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 210-211.

2—Lahori, Padshahnama, Vol. I, Part II, p. 209.

Majesty..............I beg to state that the august and illustrious command, every word of which conveys some favour or other and every letter embodies royal bounties, along with the gold plate which is as intact as the indelible Table and the portrait of His Majesty which transformed melancholy into eternal joy, was properly delivered to me through the most respected Khaja Zahid and has raised my status to heaven. The gift of an elephant, which is unique in respect of its proportionate body, grant stature and other qualities, along with other presents as fine and excellent as the heavenly gifts............also added to my honour. A proper acknowledgement of the favours bestowed upon me............is beyond my capacity.............If I venture to acquit myself of my obligations the lengthly life of Noah would not suffice............

As I have been favoured by the royal awards.......... I have taken upon myself according to my old tradition to pay my homage to the Emperor...:........and send my adoration to the Emperor............a partial description of which by Khaja Zahid would convince His Majesty. I hope that the report of my loyal behaviour would satisfy His Majesty and in recognition therefor I would be treated as a loyal servant and enrolled among the sincere devotees of the Empire............I promise that I will follow and observe the instructions that I have received through Mohammed Tahir............I have the honour of presenting to Your Majesty the elephant, Gajmuti which has been referred to in the august firman and I hope it would be included in the Royal elephant stable. It did not appear to me proper to send a single present on this occasion : after a careful search, I have acquired a diamond which is being presented herewith............To write more would amount to going

against the etiquette and decency. I fervently wish that the shadow of the benign Empire may embrace the world and spread to all the people of the world."[1]

This historical treaty was concluded in 1636 and hereby hangs a tale of the loss of the sovereign position of Golcunda. It was long anticipated and ever since the death of Sultan Mohammed Qutub Shah one could foresee such a calamity. Consequently, the kingdom was reduced to a position of dependency. It is, however, strange that the Adil Shahi kingdom which had shared the same fate was never asked to accept such disgraceful terms as were imposed on Golcunda, despite the fact that Bijapur too was required to enter into a similar treaty and was ultimately reduced to the position of a vassal state. Bijapur was neiher required to pay the annual tribute nor was it subjected to the observance of religious restrictions. It may, perhaps, be owing to the fact that Bijapur possessed a greater stamina and calibre than her sister kingdom.

In this way, however, the fall of the curtain took away the four freedoms from the Deccan which had hitherto struggled for an independent existence. If we examine that question from a different angle, it becomes abundantly clear that the proximate cause of the conflict lay in the historical fact that the Deccan as a whole had always tried to keep itself aloof from the North and hence arose the same old conflict once again in which the Northern Mughals successfully subjugated the Deccan Sultanates. Yet, there was another factor that was responsible for mutual jealousies. There were some other fingers in the pie and at the bottom of the whole struggle, some outside factors were also working. In order to have a clear idea of the political trends of the

1—Lahori, Padshahnama, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 211-215

Deccan as they moved during the seventeenth century, one should not, therefore, lose sight of the political forces that existed within and without, particularly of the powers that had dominated the politics of the Central and Western Asia. The Deccan Sultanates, though confined to a smaller area in the Southern peninsula, did not keep themselves aloof or unaffected either in their political or their cultural activities. Their policy was frequently moulded by the foreign currents of politics which passed as if underneath the surface right from Istanbul to Delhi and from Tehran to Golcunda and Bijapur.

The whole expanse of Western and Central Asia was divided into three great zones, respectively dominated by the Osmanli Turks, the Safavides and the Indian Mughals who had emerged on the ruins of the old Abbaside Caliphate, and vied with one another as political rivals. Their rivalry was prompted more by their religious affiliations than by political motives. The Turks and the Mughals professed the Sunni faith, whereas the Safavides followed the Shia creed and therefore the latter were apprehensive of the growing power of both the Turks and the Mughals who, respectively occupying the Eastern and the Western flanks of Asia, had sandwiched their Shia rival. The Sunni powers enjoyed a better position than that of their Shia rival. It was for this reason that the Safavide kings looked for a suitable ally and a asympethetic foreign state which professed their own faith. They, at last, found good allies in the Qutub Shahi and Adil Shahi Sultanates of the Deccan which also followed the Shia creed. Although those kingdoms were situated far away from Persia, yet a concerted action on the part of the Deccan Sultanates was likely to act as an anti-dote and check the expansion of the Mughal power. They were in a position to embarrass

the Mughal Empire. The Deccan Sultanates, on their part, were also eager to associate themselves with Persia on both religious and political grounds so as to enhance their prestige and power against the Mughal menace.

The Political and diplomatic relations of Golcunda with Safavide Persia dates from the reign of Mohammed Quli Qutub Shah. A Shia though he was and had declared Shia faith as the State religion. Sultan Quli, the founder of the kingdom never looked outside India for political affiliations. It was only in Mohammed Quli's reign that regular envoys were exchanged between Golcunda and Persia. The Persian envoys were not only entertained at Golcunda and asked to stay for longer duration but the names of the Safavide kings were also recited in the Friday khutba, which signified the political alignment and social alliance of Golcunda with Iran. Agharlu Sultan, the famous envoy of Shah Abbas was the first to visit the Qutub Shahi Court in 1603 (1012 A.H.) with rich presents like the jewel-bedecked crown, a dagger and forty Mesopotamian horses. Qamber Ali and Mehdi Quli Sultan, likewise, represented the Qutub Shahi government at the Persian Court and paid their obeisance in return. Husain Baig Qabchaqi was the second envoy from Persia who had visited Golcunda after the death of Mohammed Quli and had felicitated Sultan Mohammed on his accession in 1614 (1023 A.H.), with almost the same presents, namely the crown, dagger and fifty horses. Shaik Mohammed Ibne Khatun paid the return visit in 1616 (1025 A.H.). The latter came back to the Deccan after the death of Sultan Mohammed, accompanied with the Persian envoy, Qasim Baig who felicitated the boy king, Abdullah on his accesion. But, unfortunately, the latter died during his

stay at Golcunda. His son, Mohammed Quli Baig was sent back to Persia in company with Khairat Khan.[1]

Whatever might have been the causes of the conflict, Golcunda had now lost her independence. The sad end of the long reign of Abdullah Qutub Shah which covered a long range of forty six years or, that of forty eight years according to the lunar year of Hijra from 1626 (1035 A.H.) to 1672 (1083 A.H.), presented a dismal outlook and a loss of sovereign power and political prestige. The kingdom was reduced to the position of a powerless vassal state. The loss may be attributed to the timid and wevering policy of the king and the disloyalty of his ministers. Yet the reign was not absolutely barren and devoid of cultural progress. It was progressive in the field of culture. Timid though he was in the political field, Abdullah was a great patron of art and learning. He had an imposing personality; he was well-built and had a handsome physique. Saidi speaks of him as a model of prettiness. He was endowed with fine traits of character. He was kind-hearted, humane, and God-fearing. On no account did he ever show harshness to anybody.[2] He was highly religious-minded like his grand-father, Mohammed Quli Qutub Shah. He was over-particular in observing the religious rites in the holy months of Rabi I and Muharram. Complete mourning was observed in the latter month with no pleasure-seeking whatsoever. Even the use of 'pan', betal was disallowed, much less the use of liquor and other intoxicating drugs. All the officers of the State, high and low, were required to put on black garments which were supplied from the government store. Palaces and royal precincts were illuminated in Muharram and elegies were recited. The king

1—Saidi, Part I, pp. 68-72.
2—Saidi, Part I, 39.

attended the mourning functions, clad in black, and kindled the candles in the 'Alavas' with his own hand. The mourning rites were carried out as late as midnight. Dad Mahal, the magnificent palace which wore a solemn look, was the main centre of the said activities. The religious functions of Rabi I, which were instituted by Mohammed Quli Qutub Shah and were discontinued in the reign of Sultan Mohammed, were again reverently performed in this reign. It incurred an expenditure of 12,000 huns per year. Some of the royal palaces were illuminated to the accompaniment of 'Maulood' recitals and destitutes were generously fed. [1]

1 - Saidi, pp. 41-49.

CHAPTER XII

TERRITORIAL EXPANSION

The seventeenth century was the period of territorial expansions. It was during this period that the kingdom outgrew its original limits and rose to the highest zenith. It may well be reckoned to be a natural corollary of the battle of Talikota, the most fateful battle ever fought in the history of Southern India. The battle had brought about immense benefits, both moral and material, to the Deccan Sultanates of Golcunda and Bijapur and had also enhanced their political status by means of the extension of their boundaries as far South as Kandikota and Gingee respectively. Yet, the expansions could not be ascribed to the battle of Talikota alone because many other subsequent battles too played their part in this regard. The said Sultanates had to fight many a battle before the Southern territory was brought under the sway of the Adil Shahs and Qutub Shahs for the reason that some of the local forces had begun to gather strength after the fall of Vijayanagar Empire. Eltam Raj and Venkata Patti, brothers of the late Ram Raj who had survived the battle of Talikota, had still held some large tracts, namely, the Eatern parts of Karnatak, with Penugunda as their capital which lay at a considerable distance from Vijayanagar proper. But in the face of the Adil Shahi and Qutub Shahi onslaughts which commenced in 1575 (983 A.H.), Timma Raja, who had probably succeeded Venkata Pati, had shifted his capital from

Penugunda to Chandergiri and in the vicinity of the latter, new principalities had also cropped up in the meantime, under new adventurers who were either governors or feudal lords of the defunct Empire. These Rajas are known in history as Rayals of Penugunda and Nayeks of Tanjore, Madura, and Chenapattam and Vedeyars of Serangapatam. Subsequently, they had assumed a semi-independant position under the suzerainty of Chandergiri. All these Nayaks were, somehow or other, related to the Rayals of Chandergiri. They were patronized by the latter for their bold stand against the Deccani menace. But the whole trouble was that these princes lacked unity of purpose. They failed to adopt a concerted action and a common policy when their principalities were deluged by Muslim invasions. They not only entertained bitter rivalry against one another but also challenged the authority of their overlord, the Raja of Chandergiri and invoked the help of the Deccan Sultans in their own self-interests. This situation offered a golden opportunity to, the kings of Golcunda and Bijapur to annex the Southern territories.

In pursuance of a mutual agreement reached at among the Decan Kings after the battle of Talikota, the Nizam Shahi government annexed in 1575 the tottering kingdom of Berar which was already torn into pieces owing to internal dissensions. Berar was offered as a compensation for the Southern spoils which the Nizam Shahi kingdom had failed to share on account of her geographical position. Golcunda and Bijapur that were conterminous with the boundaries of the Vijayanagar Empire, had better advantage of penetrating in the South and annexing as many tracts as they could. Being situated in the North, the Nizam Shahi Kingdom was not accessible to Vijayanagar territories, whereas Randula

Khan who commanded the Adil Shahi forces, overran and seized many parts of Karnatak, namely Bankapur, Harihar, Biswapalam and also carried his arms as far as Bednur. Seera was conquered in 1644 (1054 A.H.), which was again followed by the seizure of Vellur and Gingee. Shahji, who had equally held the Adil Shahi command, followed Randula Khan, and conquered Bangalore and Serangapatam in no time. Golcunda which had started her raids during the reign of Ibraheem Qutub Shah was equally victorious. This kingdom was, at the outset, anxious to recover the territories that had slipped ino the hands of Ram Raj. Mohammed Quli had repulsed the attack of Eltamraj and Venkata Patti and had captured some rich districts of Karnatak like Nandeyal, Kalkur and Masalmurak. Besides, he stormed and conquered Kandikota and Penugunda which had once formed the strong-holds of Venkata Patti. Althougr these conquests favourably served the object for which they were undertaken, yet further expansion in the South was deemed necessary to extend the Kingdom to its natural limits.

The expansionist movement was, however, interrupted in the reign of Sultan Mohammed who ascended the throne in 1612 because the king was more a supporter of peace than of war. But the reign of his successor, Abdullah marked a fresh vigour in the field of military expansion. The incessant advance of the Adil Shahi generals in the South, not only excited the jealousy of the sister kingdom but also endangered the balance of power. Randula Khan and Shahjee were far ahead in the South and had overrun a greater part of the Southern region, whereas the Qutub Shahi government was unable to renew its activities till such time as their political affairs were amicably setled with the Mughals. It was after the ratification of the treaty of 1636

that the Qutub Shahi Government breathed a sigh of relief and could devote its energy to both the North and South. The Qutub Shahi armies were divided into two columns, one for the North and the other for the South. The North-West corner which was blocked owing to Mughal advance, remained out of question but the troops moved towards the North-East direction and occupied Vizagapatam in 1656 (1063 A.H.). The new annexation extended the Qutub Shahi boundaries to the Northern most extremity of Andhra, with Samalkota as its military headquarter. Mohd. Saeed who had hailed from Ardistan as a petty trader and was later elevated to the high post of Meer Jumla, offered his services for the Southern conquests. He was entrusted with governorship of Karnatak with definite instructions to annex the Southern region. At the time when Mohammed Saeed took over the charge of governorship, the Karnatak province was confined to Kambum which lay to the North-East of Cuddapah. But the first encounter with the powerful Raja of Chinna Patam who was quite strong in the region, did not prove to be a happy affair. It ended in his defeat. Mohammed Saeed realized the magnitude of his task and soon occupied himself with building up a strong army which in a few days rose to five thousand horse, twenty thousand foot, three hundred elephants and four to five hundred camels, in addition to ten thousand bulls for the transport of military equipment. [1] He also enrolled English and French soldiers and Italian gunners and musketeers to raise his military efficiency. Tavernier holds that Mohd. Saeed owed the conquest of the impregnable fort of Kandikota to the European

1—Vestiges of Old Madras, Vol. I, p. 100: Latters of Aurangzeb by Najeeb Ashraf Vol. I., p. 160.

soldiers and gunners only. [1] Mohammed Saeed's military raids date from 1645 (1056 A.H.) when the districts of Cuddapah and Sidwot were conquered. Kandikota formed the biggest conquest undertaken in 1646. According to Tavernier, it was a strong fort in the Yermalai range and its capture brought a place of strategic importance under the Qutub Shahi sway and served as a foothold in the Eastern Karnatak. It struck terror into the neighbouring chieftains and the Raja of Chandergiri, in particular, was driven away to seek Mughal aid for future security. Nevertheless, the Qutub Shahi forces continued their unabated march until they reached sea-shore and occupied the whole Eastern flank of the Karnatak. Sri Rang Rayal took to flight and sought refuge in Mysore. The new conquest which covered a vast area of more than three hundred square miles and yielded a revenue of forty lacs of huns is known in history as the Qibla Patti. [2]

The new conquests also created some grave complicated problems though they had enhanced the political prestige of the kingdom for some time. It was through these conquests that the kingdom was brought in a close range with the European settlers who had established their factories on the Coromandal coast. The Portuguese were the first to have come to India and start their trade at Santhum (St. Thomas) which lies at a distance of seven miles to the South of Madras. They were followed by the Dutch and the English in the beginning of the seventeenth century. The former had established their factory at Pulicat and the latter at Masulipaam.

1—Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 227, Kandikota, 1670 feet above the sea level lies in Yermalai ranges in the Cuddappah District According to Ferishta, the Fort was built in 1589.

2—Vestiges of Old Madras Vol. I, p. 146.

The latter port being held under the Qutub Shahi jurisdiction, the English merchants had to seek the permission of the said government. They also approached Sri Rang Rayal, the then ruler of the Coromandal coast for the grant of a suitable place at Madras which was then called Cheenapatam, in order to strengthen their position and oust the Portuguese advesaries. A 'Qoul' (lease) granted by the Raja on 15th November 1643 entitled them to build a fort known as the St. George for their security and also exempted their merchandise from import and export duties. They were also in possession of a big area with full legal jurisdiction. [1] But the lease became invalid in 1646 when the whole Coromandal coast was incorporated in the Qutub Shahi Kingdom. It is interesting to note that Mohammed Saeed was accorded a hearty welcome by the English merchants and was even reinforced by English soldiers and gunners when he had led his expedition to Madras and advanced towards the South in order to oust the Portuguese. When the city of Madras fell to the Qutub Shahi sword, Ivie, the President of the English Company approached Mohammed Saeed for the renewal of the lease that was granted to the Company by Sri Rang Rayal. The petition of the Company was favourably considered by the Qutub Shahi Commander and they were granted a new lease which entitled the Company to the same rights that they had hitherto enjoyed. [2]

The next decade which followed the conquest of the Coromandal coast and the grant of the aforesaid lease passed away peacefully. But the disloyal behaviour of Mohammed Saeed who sought Mughal patronage as against his own government in 1656 (1067 A.H.) reversed the whole situation.

1—Vestiges of Old Madras, Vol. I, p. 591.
2—Ibid, 592.

It gave rise to new problems and caused serious insurrections in the Karnatak Province. Sri Rang Rayal who had taken refuge at Mysore, lost no time in taking advantage of the disturbed conditions and attacked Pulicat and Pan Mali which called for immediate action. But the Qutub Shahi government had to face the Mughals and wars were being waged between Golcunda and the Mughal Empire which did not allow the former to pay attention to the Southern affairs. When peace was restored and matters were brought to normalcy after the withdrawal of the Mughal army from Golcunda fort in 1656, Abdullah Qutub Shah placed the Karnatak Province under Neknam Khan.[1] who had

1—Neknam Khan who was originally named Raza Quli and had previously served the Safavide Government, hailed from Persia probably in the reign of Abdullah Qutub Shah. He was posted in the Karnatak Province as a subordinate officer under Mohd. Saeed. He was invested with the title of Raza Khan and later on. Neknam Khan in recognition of the meritorious services that he rendered in the province after the rebellion of Mohd Saeed. Raza Quli's notable achievements in the province which pleased the king and the government brought him more distinctions and titles both in his life-time and after his death. He was promoted to the high post of Dewan and was entrusted with important duties of the State. His lasting service in the new capacity was equally laudable and won him country-wide reputation and popularity. He was a scholar and a poet, and he patronised men of letters. He had composed a number of poems which are still extant. He died on 12th May 1672 (1083 A.H.), nearly a month after the death of King Abdullah. He was given a distinguished funeral and was buried in the royal cemetery for his loyalty and devotion to the cause of the State the epitaph inscribed on his grave, namely "Blessed soul" مغفرت پناہ and "Occupant of Heaven" جنت مکان shows the reverence and regard in which he was held and his memory was

(Continued on page 182)

already served in that province under Mohammed Saeed. The new governor was best fitted for the task. He overthrew almost all the insurgents and recovered all the Qutub Shahi possessions which had slipped off during the revolt of Mohammed Saeed and then advanced as far as Madras in 1659 (1070) with a big army of forty thousand men. He laid siege to Santhum and recovered it from the Dutch in March 1662 (1072 A.H.).[1] It was a remarkable achievement of Neknam Khan that he, in the course of a few years, not only restored the Qutub Shahi prestige which had been ignominiously impaired during the revolt of Mohammed Saeed but also annexed new territories. He conquered Gutee and Karm Kunda which, combined with Kandikota and Sidhwot, looked like a separate political entity.

(Continued from page 181)

cherished. A village was assigned for the upkeep of his mausoleum and for defraying the expenses of prayers of recitations for the consolation of his soul. See Bilgrami, Land-marks of the Deccan p. 176. Mohd. Ibraheem Khadim who had closer intimacy with Neknam Khan composed a long poem in honour of his patron. The first line of the poem runs as follows:—

رضا خان جم فر و خورشید رائے
زسر تا بپا مظهر لطف خدائے

Raza Khan as glorious as Jamshed and with judgement as luminous as the Sun, and a manifestation of grace Divine.

Ali Bin Taifur Bustami, Hadiquas Salateen, manuscript—Salar Jung Library, pp. 201-205. Manucci, Vol. III, p. 276.

1—Manucci, Vol. III, p. 276; Vestiges of Old Madras, Vol. I, pp. 148-149.

Edward Winter, the President of the Company states in one of his letters dated 10th December 1663 (1074) that Neknam Khan commanded a strong army of forty thousand troops. Vestiges of Old Madras, Vol. I, p. 213.

The achievements of Nekman Khan and his military strength of forty thousand constituted a serious threat to the English Company, especially because the new governor was not favourably disposed to them and had rejected the 'Qoul' that was granted by Mohammed Saeed in 1647. Neknam Khan, instead, demanded a lease with an increased rent and royalty. The old lease fetched half of what accrued from the import and export duties. Even half the amount stipulated by the lease was not regularly paid but was frequently withheld by the Company. Green Hill, the then President, remitted only 380 huns to the Qutub Shahi treasury instead of surrendering half the amount of customs duties, and the said remittance too was in respect of the rent of the city of Madras. If the statement of the English Company is relied upon, Neknam Khan, ever since he had assumed the governorship of Karnatak in 1663 (1074 A.H.), refused to accept the said amount. He not only required the Company to pay the entire amount of customs duties but also intended to appoint a Havaldar, an Inspector, to scrutinize the receipts and vouchers of the Company.[1] Edward Winter, who succeeded Green Hill became apprehensive and requested the governnor for lenient treatment. But his request was turned down and the Company was forced to accept the terms dictated by the governor. It was, however, unfortunate that in the meantime Neknam Khan was called upon to quell a local insurrection of the Karnatak Nayeks. The governor was obliged to divert his whole army from Madras to the turbulent parts. It thus gave a good respite to the English merchants till the year 1670. When the governor was relieved of the unexpected turmoil, he again turned his earnest attention to the affairs of the English

1—Vestiges of Old Madras, Vol. I, pp. 238-267-268

Company. Fox Croft who had filled the post of the President in succession to Winter, had refused to pay Govt. dues. Croft tried to evade the demand for some time and therefore Naknam Khan stationed his army at Triplicane and blocked all approaches to the city as a punitive measure. The Company and the peaceful citizens of the city were put to severe hardships during the blockade and the President was ultimately forced to sue for peace and accept, in January 1672 A.D. (1082). the terms laid by the governor in toto. The Company paid eleven thousand huns in full settlement of the arrears and also promised to pay twelve thousand huns per annum towards the rent of the city and Rs. 4200 towards customs. The 'Qoul' was confirmed by Sir William Langhorne who had succeeded Croft. The text of the Qoul as signed by Neknam Khan on 23rd February 1672 is as follows :—

"Text of the Cowal given by His Excellency Nabob Yecknam Cawne to the Honourable Sir William Langhorn, Baronet, Governor and Agent for the Affairs of the Honoureble East India Company etc., Council and their successors, in Fort St. George in Chinapatam dated the 23rd of February in the year 167½.

"I do hereby grant that the English shall enjoy from this day forward the same ancient privileges, as well of the ground belonging to the Place called Madrassapatam as Narimedo and all other priveleges which they have hitherto enjoyed from the time that the town of Chinapatam was first situated.

" I do moreover grant, to avoid further differences, that whatever cloth, goods and merchandize, and other things that

1—Manucci, Vol. IV, p. 451; Thevenot, p. 273; Wheeler, Madras, Vol. I, pp. 34-81-85; Vestiges of Old Madras, Vol. I, p. 344.

are brought and carried out by Sea in ships, vessels and boats for the Fort and Town of Chinapatam and for the English Nation, and all that is necessary for their use, and all what doth belong to them, both in carrying in and bringing out, they shall be no ways obliged to pay any manner of custom for the same.

"Moreover I have agreed with the above-said Governor and Council about the half of the custom of the town Chinapatam that belongs to the Divan where the English remained debtor for some years past to the latter end of the month of May and ensuing of the year 1672, to pay the sum of 11000 Pagodas new of Chinapatam, which sum I have already received and therefore I do hereby acquit them for all the demands for the time past from this day for ever, having received from the hands of the English the said sum of 11000 Pagodas, which I have already satisfied the same to the Divan.

"And apart from the first day of June next of the said year 1672, deducting the half of the custom of Chinapatam which belongeth to the Honourable Company, and for the other half that did belong to the Divan I have rented to the English, paying to the Divan and none other, the sum of 1200 Pagodas new of Chinapatam every year at the latter end of it. The said Town shall remain wholly rented for ever under the English so long as that the Sun and Moon endureth and so they shall perpetually enjoy it.

"And the said English shall in no ways be obliged to pay the said sum of 1200 Pagodas of the rent to any Avaldores or Governors that are about the Town of Chinapatam.

"I do moreover grant that all things that are carried in and out through all the countries that are under my

Government and command that are for the English's own use, they shall pay no custom or Junean for the same; neither shall any Avaldores or Governors of Forts and Places that are round about Chinapatam, under any Governor and command, have to do in the least with the Town of Chinapatam; neither shall any of the Avalores, Governors or any other officers of mine, stop or hinder in no way from bringing or carrying all sorts of paddy or other grain, provision, cloth, goods or any other sorts of merchandize for the Fort or Town of Chinapatam: I do grant that there be no manner of stop or hinderance in the same, and that the English may remain with a quiet heart, I have granted them according to Sallabad.

"Neither shall any Avaldore or any of the Divan's people ever be kept or placed in the Town of Chinapatam. And as I have done, that no person whatsoever, shall have to do in the least with the Town of Chinapatam, but that it shall wholly remain for ever under the English, where they may accordingly act all the command, Government and justice of the said Town as they shall think necessary and most convenient to be done.

"Moreover, whereas the English Nation, have been always so good and peaceable a Nation, dealing in all things whatsoever with a great deal of truth and honestly in all their concerns, having shewed themselves on all occasions as His Highness the Olampana's real friends, therefore I do moreover grant them that all whatsoever privileges are already granted or shall hereafter be granted at any time to any Nation that resides in all the Towns and Places that are under the Government and command of His Highness the Olampana, all the same privileges shall be granted to the English Nation........

"I do moreover promise hereby that if any person whatsoever shall abuse or wrong the English Nation in any of their dealings or Merchandize, I shall take care to do them justice and right. And in witness whereof I have given this Cowle that the said English and their successors may enjoy the contents hereof with a perpetual quietness.

"Dated the 23rd Day of the Month February in the year 1672."[1]

The accession of Abul Hasan Qutub Shah after the death of King Abdullah in 1672 brought no substantial change in the administrative policy of Karnatak. Neknam Khan died soon after, and his successor, Musa Khan, followed the same policy and confirmed the 'Qoul' of the English Company. The English merchants at Masulipatam were also lucky enough to receive liberal concessions from the government.[2] Rich Mohan, the President, was allowed to carry on his trade free of taxes. But the situation was partially reversed by the hostile action of the French who had occupied the Southern part of the Coromandal Coast in the second half of the seventeenth century. They were annoyed with the Qutub Shahi government for their support of the English which was quite prejudicial to the French cause. The death of King Abdullah as also that of Neknam Khan afforded them a good opportunity to make a bold rally. They launched an attack on Santhum with the underhand support of Syed Muzzaffar, the then Meer Jumla of the State, who bore spite against Musa Khan. The latter, therefore, had to fight single handed without any reinforcement from the centre and was forced to surrender. The French were left free not only to occupy

1—Vestiges of Old Madras, Vol. Vol. I, pp. 344-345.

2—Vestiges of Old Madras, Vol. I, p. 592.

Santhum but also to plunder and damage Muslim ships and boats. While the French were thus exploiting the tender situation and executing their evil design, the king of Golcunda was prevailed upon by Syed Muzaffar to cede Santhum to them for a petty sum of one lac crowns. Musa Khan's fidelity, however, never allowed him to remain a silent observer and he did not bow to the unscrupulous intrigues of Syed Muzaffar. He met the situation promptly by utilizing all possible means at his disposal. He appointed Baba Sahib as commander and rushed Chinapalli Mirza to resist the French. This prompt action, no doubt, promised sure success to the Qutub Shahi arms in the recovery of Santhum,[1] but the move was again thwarted by the treacherous intervention of Syed Muzaffar. Musa Khan was called back to the centre and was replaced by Namdar Khan, lest the former should rise to power in the province. This replacement too did not hamper the military action and advancement. Chinnapalli Mirza stood firm against the French and crushed their power. They were further weakened by the counter movements of the English and the Dutch, and were forced to lay down their arms in 1674 (1085 A.H.). Santhum was thus reoccupied by the Qutub Shahi army.[2] It was just at this juncture that Syed Muzaffar was displaced and Madanna was given charge of the government to continue the noble policy of Neknam Khan.

The effect of the triumph of the Qutub Shahi army against the French was very great. It struck awe into the English merchants who, since then, employed every possible means to please the king as also his high placed officers. They offered rich presents in cash and kind. Not only the

1—Vestiges of Old Madras, Vol. I, pp. 327-334.
2—Ibid 341.

king, his prime minister, Madanna and his peshkar, Akanna who were at the centre were loaded with Nazars, and other costly presents, but also the local officials like Maski Mian and Khalilullah Khan who had succeeded Neknam Khan in the Karnatak province were enriched with gifts consisting of costly clothes, instruments and weapons. The value of the gifts that were presented to King Abul Hasan, Madanna, and Nawab Maski Mian was estimated to be 495 huns, 184 huns, 52½ huns and 98½ huns respectively. Besides, they gave 400 huns as a marriage gift on the occasion of the marriage of Sikander, entitled Sanjar Khan the son of Khalilullah Khan. The marriage was celebrated at Madras. Similarly, they offered 100 huns to the prime minister. Madanna on the occasion of his son's marriage which was celebrated in 1678. They also made offering of a large amount as 'Nazar' to the king when he paid a visit to Masulipatam on his official tour. The king received a large amount of cash during his tour in 1676 (1087 A.H.) and again in 1678 (1089 A.H.). In the last tour, the collection amounted to ten thousand huns from the Dutch and three thousand from the English. The English Company was presided over by Streynsham Master who had replaced Langhorn in 1677 (1088 A. H.).

But the reign of Abul Hasan, ever since Madanna assumed the ministership was, on the whole, not quite favourable to the English Company. Madanna was a strict task-master who applied state regulations rigorously without the slightest relaxation. The Company was required to post a special envoy at the capital to transmit their petitions to the central authority. He never allowed the Company to acquire more territory and extend their jurisdiction. He had turned down the request of the Company made to the minister in the beginning of his office for the grant of a village on pay-

ment of rent. The request was rejected on the ground that it was not in the interest of the kingdom. When Streynsham Master was replaced by Ford in 1096, A.H. the new President submitted a petition in humble terms, seeking permission for the right of coinage. The request was very carefully considered in all its bearings and after a prolonged deliberation, the Company was allowed to mint only silver coins and not copper coins, on the specific condition that the coins were at par with the government currency both in weight and value. Local officers treated the English merchants rather harshly. They kept a constant vigil to see that the state regulations were strictly observed and the prestige of the kingdom was upheld. They encouraged indigenous trade and helped local merchants whereas European merchants were forced to abide by the law of the land. Lingappa's official tour of the district which was under the jurisdiction of the Company is worthy of note. It is related that the English merchants not only abstained from according him good reception but they also refused the robes of honour granted by the king. Moreover, their treatment with the local traders was highly objectionable. They imposed an import duty on the merchandise imported at Madras by the local merchants whereas foreign merchandise was left untaxed. Lingappa, therefore, took prompt action and blocked the city with the result that traffic was badly held up. The Company was reduced to a helpless position and had to accept the terms offered by the governor.[1] A new provocation occurred in 1677 (1088 A.H.) when the Company was controlled by Streynsham Master, that is, the Company imposed a levy on the native merchants with a view to meeting the expenses incurred by the repair of Fort St. George and remitted the

1—Vestiges of Old Madras, Vol. I, p. 356.

rent of the city direct to the central treasury and not to the governor. It further aggravated the tension. The governor blocked the city once again in order to get the grievances redressed. The Company was forced to make an apology and accept his terms. Yet the Company applied another contrivance to degrade the governor. They tried to maintain direct connection with the central government over and above the governor. Despite this, their petition was not only rejected by the centre but the governor was also duly encouraged. He was promoted to the governorship of the entire province of Karnatak in 1682 (1093 A.H.) and the Company was required to contact the governor for their day to day transactions and forward their letters through him. The next governor, Abdul Nabi who had replaced Lingappa in 1686 (1098 A.H.) continued the same policy. The strict administration which was maintained throughout bore good fruit. The English and the Dutch companies were under strict control. They had little chance to violate any of the state regulations. The status quo was maintained even after the battle of Malkhed and the defeat of the Qutub Shahi army at the hands of the Mughals in 1685 (1097 A.H.), although the English and Dutch merchants tried in vain to avail of the opportunity to seize Masulipatam and withhold the payment of rent. Yet, the fall of Golcunda in 1687 (1098 A.H.) reversed the entire situation. It opened the flood gates of victory and raised the fortunes of the English Company to the highest pitch. The Company was relieved of the Qutub Shahi control at once with the result that it not only gained supremacy in the Karnatak province but, in course of time, it dominated the whole sub-continent. If the Qutub Shahi kingdom had not been liquidated by the Mughals, the Company would, in no circumstances, have gained any foothold.

The account of Karnatak would remain incomplete without due reference to the part played during that period by the Maratha leader, Sivaji. We know that his father, Shahji had overrun many territories of Karnatak and had carried the Adil Shahi arms upto Ginjee. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Ekoji as governor of Southern province. The latter who was a shrewd commander, took advantage of the mutual jealousies between the Nayaks of Tanjore and Madura and entered the former principality victoriously. But his rapid conquests and supremacy roused the jealousy of his brother, Sivaji who lost no opportunity to oust him and ultimately took possession of the Karnatak region which was conquered by his father. When he made his advance in 1676 (1037 A.H.) he found everything in his favour. He was at peace with the Mughal Emperor and could therefore devote his energy to Southern conquests, whereas Bijapur was dragged into a bloody war with the Mughals. Nevertheless, his success was linked up with the Qutub Shahi alliance and aid. He came to Hyderabad in 1677 (1088 A.H.) and made a political alliance with the king of Golcunda. The parties agreed to make a united front against the Mughal Emperor as also to undertake new conquests in Southern regions. Sivaji promised to hand over the new annexations of the South to Golcunda in return for a subsidiary of one lac huns for military operations and three thousand huns per day for his recurring expenses that were likely to be incurred during his operation in the South. The agreement was all political in motivation. What impelled the king of Golcunda and his minister, Madanna to welcome the pact was their frantic bid to save Karnatak from Mughal aggression. The kindgom had already been wrecked owing to the perfidy of Meer Jumla Mohammed Saeed as also the Mughal intervention. The

tragedy did not end there. The Mughal government was casting its covetous eye on all the territories conquered by Meer Jumla and therefore the kingdom which was unable to undertake the conquests at its own initiative had no other alternative but to entrust the task to Sivaji.

But unfortunately the agreement which appeared to be favourable to Golcunda was never honoured. Sivaji never fulfilled the terms and never rendered the service for which he had received enormous wealth from Golcunda. He conquered many territories of Mysore Plateau and even captured Gingee where the two Adil Shahi generals, Nazeer Mohammed and Shamshad Khan had offered a stiff resistence. The vast area which Sivaji conquered at this time included one hundred forts. It was rich in diamond mines and yielded a handsome revenue of forty lac huns. None of the conquered forts was handed over to the Golcunda kingdom in keeping with the agreement. With a view to making amends for the loss, the Qutub Shahi government lost no time in rushing Mohd. Ibraheem and Lingappa to invade Gingee and Mysore Plateau respectively, but the military operations ultimately failed to achieve their object.

CHAPTER XIII

THE MUGHAL AGGRESSION

The two decades after the ratification of the historical treaty of 1636 passed away peacefully. The period was, however, not without unpleasantness. The Mughal Hajib who was posted at Golcunda continued to interfere in the domestic affairs of the kingdom and the Emperor extorted costly presents. When the Deccan affairs were put to right to his satisfaction, the Emperor appointed Prince Aurangzeb to the viceroyalty of the Deccan with a view to looking after the Mughal as well as the dependant territories. It was the first viceroyalty of Aurangzeb which lasted from 1636 to 1644, in which capacity he conducted the Deccan administration successfully and kept his watchful eye on the Deccan kingdoms. But the prince was soon called back to the North to attend to the problems of the Empire which called for an immediate attention. It was unfortunate that the officers who succeeded the prince in the Deccan proved to be inefficient. Khan Douran, Jai Singh, Islam Khan Mashhadi, Shah Nawaz Khan, Murad Baksh and Shayasta Khan were the officers who were placed in charge of the Deccan administration one after the other. They worked in a way that was prejudicial to the cause of the Deccan. It caused a heavy fall in the revenue and emboldened the Deccan kings to disregard the treaty obligations. The Imperial privilege was further impaired by the ignominous defeat of the Mughals

in the siege of Qandhar. Consequently, the Deccan kings evaded payment of the tribute and ignored all the political and religious restrictions which were imposed on them by the treaty. This state of affairs necessitated an immediate replacement of the governor and the Emperor was obliged to send Aurangzeb to the Deccan once again in 1653 (1064 A.H.). The second term of his office was marked by an unwelcome feature though it proved to be highly beneficial in the field of agrarian reforms. The prince had to make good the previous losses; he no doubt tried to improve the tone of administration and restore the political relations with the dependencies in conformity with the terms of the treaty, but unfortunately Aurangzeb adopted an unfriendly attitude towards Golcunda and Bijapur. He cherished and carried out aggressive designs of putting an end to the two kingdoms with no proper justification.

The causes which weighed with the greedy viceroy to attack the said states were many. Golcunda was held guilty of many offences and of the breach of trust. It was accused of having violated all its treaty obligations. Not only the annual tribute of two lac huns was in default, but the kingdom had also revived the evil rite of anathema and had renewed diplomatic relations with the Persian Court. Soon after he assumed the charge of the Deccan in 1653, Aurangzeb enjoined the Golcunda government to pay the arrears that were overdue as well as the amount that accrued from the difference of exchange rate between the hun and the Mughal rupee. The exchange rate had gone from 4 to 5 rupees per hun.[1] The defection of Siri Rang Rayal, the Raja of Chandergiri formed another primum mobile. The

1--Letters of Aurangzeb, edited by Najeeb Ashraf, Vol. I, pp. 186-187.

Raja, who was a Golcunda feudatory had sought for Mughal protection and had promised to offer, in return, fifty lac huns, two hundred elephants, precious stones and annual payment of tribute and presents. The offer was too tempting to be overlooked. The Emperor and the viceroy were both lured by the offer and the latter had, therefore, recommended the Raja's case in strong terms.

All those grievances, however, were not of a serious nature so as to come in the way of an amicable settlement. The case of arrears of tribute and that of Siri Rang Rayal were also withdrawn through the mediation of the Deccan envoys. The Emperor was prevailed upon by the Deccan kings to turn down the request of the Raja. But, the whole trouble was ascribable to the treachery on the part of Mohammed Saeed, the Meer Jumla. It had blocked all possible avenues to an amicable settlement. Mohd. Saeed who figures prominently in the history of this period was a foreigner who had come down from Ardistan. He had come to Golcunda under strained circumstances in 1630 (1040 A.H.) where he made a rapid progress by virtue of his political tact and insight until he became the Meer Jumla in 1639.[1]

1- Mohd. Saeed was born in Isfahan where his father had come down from Ardistan and caried on a petty trade in oil; that is why he is recorded in history as the Syed of Ardistan and Isfahan (Maasirul Umera Vol. III, p. 530). As the Golcunda kingdom enjoyed a world-wide fame for its diamond mines, Mohd. Saeed arrived here to try his fortune, probably along with a big merchant who dealt in diamonds. He served the merchant as a menial servant. (Vestiges of Old Madras, Vol. I, p. 73.) Manucci speaks of him as a personal attendant of a Persian merchant who dealt in horses at Golcunda and says that Mohd. Saeed looked after his business. According to Manucci, he roamed about in

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As the scheme of Karnatak conquest loomed large in Golcunda politics, Mohammed Saeed was selected by the government to undertake the task. The whole Southern region which was ruled over by the Rayels and Naiks who were too weak to offer any stiff resistance, lay at his feet. Mohd. Saeed overran a great part of the Karnatak in 1645 (1055 A.H.) which extended over 300 miles in length and 50 miles in breadth upto the sea-shore, and yielded a handsome revenue of 40 to 45 lacs of huns.[1] Kandikota alone which covered a large area was sufficient to form a separate principality. The area being rich in diamond mines offered unbounded wealth and prosperity. Mohd. Saeed made a large fortune and also acquired fertile jagir assignments. He earned infinite number of diamonds worth lacs of rupees from the old as well as the new mines which were then discovered. He also owned merchant-ships which sailed in the Bay of Bengal and imported rich merchandise. In addition to the central army which was under his command, he had mustered a separate regiment including French soldiers and gunners, and payed its expenses out of his private purse. The regiment which had the strength of five thousand horsemen and of twenty thousand infantry [2] was enough to strike awe in the

(*Continued from page 197*)

the streets of Hyderabad as a hawker, selling shoes. But, in a few days, he changed his petty trade to that of diamonds and made a large fortune which helped him to have an access to the royal court through the mediation of the king's courtiers. He presented to the king a trained elephant, rich cloth, imported from China and European countries and gained royal favour. He was taken into government service, in which capacity he made rapid progress until he was appointed governor of Karnatak. Manucci, Vol. I, p. 232.

1—Amale Salih, Vol. III, p. 213.

2—Manucci, Vol. I, p. 232; Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 227.

neighbouring powers. The European merchants too became apprehensive and forwarded rich presents and cash offers to appease the governor. [1] Dom Filippe Mascarenhas, the governor of the Portuguese territory had presented to him many unique and valuable articles. The English merchants also presented him with guns in order to secure the grant of "Qoul.'

But the unexpected victories and the huge wealth that he had hoarded in the Southern region emboldened him to get his tail up. He put on airs of greatness and dreamt of establishing an independent principality in defiance of the central authority. His disloyal attitude was confirmed by his refusal of handing over the enormous spoils which he had collected in the Southern campaigns. He claimed the booty as being the fruits of his labour and his own property, a claim which was quite unwarranted. The king too became apprehensive and called him back to the capital with the intention of arresting him, as otherwise it was well nigh impossible to control the far-flung province and take the defiant governor to task. Mohd. Saeed went to the capital as required by the royal order and paid his obeisance in the Durbar but the moment he scented the impending danger to his person, he hurriedly escaped therefrom. It is related that the king had probably planned to inflict upon him the punishment of rendering him blind or, according to Tavernier, to poison him. [2] He clapped spurs to his horse and hastened to his province wherefrom he challenged the central authority overtly. None the less, with all the resources in his power, he was not powerful enough to maintain his independent position against the powerful centre, and, therefore, he tried

1—Manucci, Vol. I., p. 232; Amale Salih. Vol. III. p. 213,
2—Tavernier, Vol. I., p. 134,

to seek aid from outside. In order to see how far his plan could be successful and whether any foreign aid was forthcoming, he wrote letters to Persia, Bijapur and Delhi. The first two states did not react favourably to his request whereas Abdul Lateef, the Mughal Hajib forwarded his letter promptly to Aurangzeb who approved of it wholeheartedly and recommended it to the Emperor in strong terms,[1] though it amounted to a contravention of the political convention as also of the treaty that was concluded in 1636 with Bijapur.[2] The said treaty was equally applicable to Golcunda.

Both the kings of Golcunda and Bijapur were naturally alarmed to see that the Mughal government was favourably disposed towards Mohd. Saeed. They, therefore, tried to win him over, and they even resorted to measures of flattery and persuasion for the purpose but all was in vain. It would be disasterous, they thought, if he deserted the kingdom and disclosed their secrets to the Emperor. But Mohd. Saeed played a double game. He never intended seriously to throw himself into the Mughal lap, but he rather misled both Adil Shah and Shah Jahan by his false overtures. What he really aimed at was to gain time and consolidate his position against Golcunda under the pretext that he enjoyed Mughal protection. This fact is clearly borne out, not only by the report of Mohd. Momin, the Mughal envoy, which he had submitted to the Mughal Emperor after he returned from his tour of Karnatak, but also by the letters of Mohd. Saeed himself which he had written in reply to Aurangzeb's friendly gestures. "I will take the decision within two years," wrote Mohd. Saeed, "whether I should serve Qutubul Mulk or retire from

1—Amale Sahib, Vol. III, p. 213.

2—Padshahnama, Vol. II, part II, p. 172.

service and visit the holy cities."[1] It is, no doubt, a fact that his son, Mohd. Ameen who was still at Golcunda tried to pacify the Mughal Hajib, Mohd. Momin through his own interpretations that the statement of his father was nothing but a time-saving device and that both he and his father were really impatient to join the Mughal service, but Mohd. Saeed's own statement which exposed the inner working of his mind could hardly be refuted. As a matter of fact, Mohd. Saeed feared his complete annihilation at the hands of Golcunda and Bijapur and, therefore, he sought Mughal protection as the last resort. If Manucci is to be relied upon, he had induced Aurangzeb to invade Golcunda and offered his services for the task with the cavalry of forty thousand that was at his command. [2] According to Tavernier, Mohd. Saeed also induced Shuja of Bengal to invade Golcunda and assured him of his services to help the invader.[3] His request was, however, promptly approved by the Emperor on December 3, 1655 (1066 A.H.) and the Imperial assent was communicated to Mohd. Saeed through Mohd. Arif Kasmiri with a robe of honour and an award of five-thousand horse and five-thousand-rank for him and two-thousand-horse and two-thousand-rank for his son.[4] Besides, king Abdullah was ordered to treat the members of Saeed's family living at Golcunda with all marks of respect and liberality.

The situation was further complicated by a foolish act on the part of Mohd. Ameen. Long before the Imperial firmans were dilivered to Mohd. Saeed and king Abdullah, the self-conceited youth, Mohd. Ameen, elated by the rising

1—Letters of Aurangzeb by Najeeb Ashaf, Vol. I, p. 160.
2—Manucci, Vol. I, p. 233.
3—Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 135.
4—Amale Salih, Vol. III, p. 213.

power of his father and the patronage of the Mughal Emperor, violated all formal conventions of society and the decorum of the royal court. One day, he lost control of him'elf owing to excess of wine and, entering the durbar hall, lay down on the royal dias and vomited. It was too grave a violation to be tolerted and the king was obliged to take disciplinary action for the sake of royal prestige. He ordered for the arrest of the offender and forfeiture of his property, regardless of the Imperial orders which were handed over to him just then.[1] The Mughal Government treated the action as a serious contravention of the Imperial Firman and was determined to give to king Abdullah the biter bit. The Emperor issued urgent orders to the king "to release Mohd. Ameen as otherwise the victorious army was bound to occupy the Golcunda territory."[2] Hadidad Khan, the Mughal general who was posted at Devgadh was instantly ordered to proceed to Qandhar and Mohd. Sultan, the eldest son of Aurangzeb was rushed to Nanded on 26th December 1655 (1066 A.H.). The Prince was instructed to enter Hyderabad and effect the release of the Meer Jumla's son and of the members of his family. The Prince reached Nanded and communicated to Abdullah the Imperial order that if he failed to effect the release of the son of the Meer Jumla and his dependents, the Imperial army would march and occupy the kingdom.[3]

1—Maasirul Umera, (Shah Nawaz Khan) Vol. III. p. 533; Amale Salih, Vol. III, p. 222.

2– Tavernier says that the king had made up his mind to surrender the fort to the Mughals but he was opposed by his sin-in-law, Syed Ahmed who warned him against the blunder on point of death. Tavernier, Vol. I., pp. 132; Letters of Aurangzeb, Najeeb Ashraf, Vol. I, p. 170.

3—Amale Salih, Vol. III, p. 222: Letters of Aurangzeb, Vol. I, pp. 170, 172.

It was indeed an embarrasing situation for a king like Abdullah. He found himself in a state of grave dilemma. In case he liberated Mohd. Ameen and his dependents in compliance with the Imperial order, he would have lowered the prestige of his kingdom and brought the governmental machinery to disruption, and if he ignored the order he was destined to face the Mughal onslaught. The case was all the more deplorable that the Mughal government cared more for its own prestige than that of Golcunda which was under its protection. King Abdullah remained adamant for a long time than was usually expected of him. And, consequently, Mohd. Sultan left Nanded on the 10th of January and reached Hyderabad a few days later, followed by his father who was also on the march to Hyderabad. Now the conditions had become so alarming that it was hardly possible for the king to hold his ground any longer and he therefore liberated Mohd. Ameen and his relatives forthwith. They left Hyderabad immediately after their release and joined the liberation army at a distance of 24 miles from Hyderabad.[1] If the release of the captives was the real objective, the military movement should have been stopped then and there. But Mohd. Sultan was ordered to continue his march until he reached Hyderabad. The prince arrived at Hyderabad on 23rd January and encamped in the vicinity of Husain Sagar lake. He shifted his camp to the city two days later because the former place did not suit his purpose. Abdullah had left the city one day earlier and shut himself up in the fort. The city which was absolutely defenceless was left to the mercy of free-booters. The houses of the nobility and gentry were looted freely despite the efforts on

1—Amale Salih, Vol. III, p. 223; Letters of Aurangzeb, Vol. I, p. 181.

the part of the Mughal prince to stop the nuisance.[1] A military officer, Mohd. Baig was posted in the city to prevent further trouble but it was all in vain. It is quite probable that the Mughal soldiers were also involved in the plunder.[2] King Abdullah made overtures of peace and offered exuberant terms, namely Rs. forty lacs in cash as indemnity of war and the hand of his daughter in marriage to the prince. But the latter had no authority to consider the overture of peace and therefore the negotiations were held in abeyance. King Abdullah was criticized by the Mughals as being a double dealer on the grounds that he was making negotiations for peace on the one side and making preparations of war on the other. An impartial judgement, however, can evince that his preparation was a sort of a precautionary measure in emergency and if the peace negotiations failed, he had to struggle for existence; otherwise he was sincere in his attempt for peace. He also expected a reinforcement from Bijapur if he was dragged into an armed conflict.

Barring minor skirmishes, no major fight had taken place between the two armies till the arrival of Aurangzeb. Aurangzeb reached Hyderabad on 6th February and laid siege to the fort on the 7th which continued till the 30th of March. On the last day when the siege was about to be lifted that Mohd. Saeed arrived from Karnatak and joined the Mughal Camp with an avowed intention, according to Manucci, to avenge himself.[3] A hill situated to the North-East of the fort served as a strategic spot for the Mughals to raise their guns and launch direct attacks on the fort to the utter dismay

1—Leters of Aurangzeb, Vol. pp. 181, 185.

2—Maasirul Umera (Shah Nawaz Khan), Vol. III, p. 533: Amale Salih, Vol. p. 224

3—Manucci, Vol. I, p. 235,

of the Qutub Shahi garrison. The Golcunda soldiers attempted more than once to make a rally but were overpowered in no time. The famous bastillion known as the Musa Buraj and manned by Meer Meeran and Musa Khan served as a great nucleus of defence. It was in this bastillion that Meer Meeran received the fatal shock of a gun ball. Musa Khan took his place and defended the bastillion to the end.[1] It was very difficult to forecast the outcome of the war if it had continued longer but it came to a close by abject overtures of Abdullah who had lost his morale by that time. He sent his messages and presents to Aurangzeb. But the latter who was bent upon vanquishing the dynasty, would listen to no overtures. He, on the contrary, concealed the orders of the central Government and continued the fight. Abdullah appealed to Mohd. Sultan through Meer Faseeh and his son-in-law, Syed Ahmed. At last, the king's aged mother, Hayat Bakshee Begum came down to make her personal appeal and put her personal weight in the matter. After receiving favourable gesture from Aurangzeb, she approached him with her request. She was received respectfully by a band of Mughal officers and was unshered in Shaista Khan's camp. The personal weight of Hayat Bakshee Begum, combined with the

[1] The bastillion which is known as Musa Buraj after Musa Khan, together with an inscription still stands and reminds one of the Mughal siege and of the Golcunda defence. The bastillion was renovated and fortified in 1075 A.H. after the withdrawal of the Mughal army under the supervision of the same commander and therefore it was named after him. A lengthy inscription which is erected on the bastillion is very illuminating. It gives a brief history how Meer Meeran was killed and Musa Khan took charge of the bastillion and defended it, and how it was renovated under the supervision of the Commander. Dharma Char was the mason who undertook the construction. See Bilqrami, Land-marks of the Deccan, pp. 154-155.

peremptory orders from the central government to accept the peace terms and lift the siege, was bound to have its desired effect and, consequently, the war came to a close. The orinigal terms offered by the Golcunda government consisted of the marriage of the Golcunda princess with Mohd. Sultan and the payment of one crore of rupees in cash, together with costly jewels and elephants.[1] But it appears that in response to the dowager queen's appeal, the payment of the sum was reduced to seventy lacs, and the reduction was also confirmed by the Emperor.[2] It was further provided in the treaty that Mohammed Sultan, the eldest son of Aurangzeb would succeed to the Golcunda throne after the death of the ruling king. Although the additional provision was not communicated to the Emperor yet it was inserted in the agreement in express terms which runs as follows :—

"I solemnly pledge that I shall give my own daughter in marriage to the youthful prince, Mohd. Sultan and I also declare that the Government of the dominion will devolve on the fortunate prince after the death of this born devotee. Secondly, in addition to two lac fifty thousand huns, Ramgeer fort with its adjoining territory would be

1—Amale Salih, Vol. III, p. 228.

2—The original text of the treaty as recorded by Girdhari Lal exact makes no mention of the reduction. The words Axqar were : "the humble servant shall remit the sum of twenty thousand huns as my humble offer and present excellent jewels and the best of elephant which I could afford." It was further added that the Kingdom would place five thousand horses at the disposal of the Imperial government if need arose. See Ahqar, Zafra, p. 21.

handed over to the representatives of the Imperial government." [1]

The Imperial army was withdrawn from the fort on 14th Jamadi II in compliance with the Emperor's orders and the Golcunda princess whose name, according to Grand Duff, was Padshah Bibi [2] was married to Mohd. Sultan five days later, the district of Ramgeer being given as her dowry. [3] Nothing was known about the princess after she had left for Agra along with the bridegroom. As Prince Mohd. Sultan had incurred the displeasure of his father, he was under a life-sentence and died in prison in 1677 (1088 A.H.). [4] The princess, in all probability, must have suffered the same fate and died in confinement like her husband either before or after Prince Mohd. Sultan. The Special Seal bearing the phrase ختم با لخير و ا لسعا د لا "It came to the peaceful and blissful end" was prepared by King Abdullah, is reminiscent of the historical event. The meaning underlying this is that the kingdom had escaped the national calamity of dismemberment which the invaders had in view. Royal edicts and official documents issued thereafter were stamped with the same seal. [5]

1—Ahqar, Zafra, p. 31. Manucci, Bernier and Tavernier, all travellrs confirm the part of agreement that Mohd. Sultan was nomintaed as the next heir to the Golcunda throne. Manucci, Vol. I, p. 235; Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 137. Bernier adds two more terms in the treaty, that is, the permission to Meer Jumla to remove his family and property from Golcunda and an inscription of arms of Shah Jahan on the Silver Coins of the realm (Bernier, p. 21).

2—Grand Duff, History of the Marathas, Vol. I, p. 209.

3—Amale Salih, Vol. III, p. 229; Bernier, pp. 21-22. Ramgeer is situated 113 miles to the North-East of Hyderabad.

4—Saqui, Alamgiri, p. 160.

5—Bilgrami, Land marks of the Deccan, p. 26. Large number of

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This ends the gloomy chapter of the Qutub Shahi history which contains the dreary episode of disloyalty and its far-reaching consequences. Although disloyal practices were not quite uncommon in the history of Golcunda, and we know that Jagdev Rao and Saif Khan Ainul Mulk in the reign of Jamsheed and Mohd. Ameen, the former Meer Jumla in the reign of Sultan Mohd. had kicked over the traces and joined opposite camps, yet those incidents were not serious in nature so as to bring about disgrace to the kingdom and rob her of her glory. On the contrary, Mohamed Saeed's treachery dealt a crippling blow. The kingdom suffered a loss which was never repaired. It was reduced to the position of a vassal state, shorn of all sovereign powers and political prestige. With a view to pleasing the Emperor and the Mughal Governors posted in the Deccan, king Abdullah u ed to send presents and also used to shower cash and jewels on Mughal Hajibs. To quote the French traveller. Bernier. Mughal Haijbs interfered with the day-to-day administration and the interference had penetrated so deeply that the Hajib had virtually become the master of the kingdom and the king was reduced to the position of a titular head :

"First, when I was at Golcunda in the year 1667. an Amba sador Extra-ordinary arrived from Aurangzeb whose purpose was to declare war if the king failed to supply to the Mughals ten thousand cavalry that was to be used against Visapur. This was not indeed granted. But, Aurangzeb, was offered some gift that was still better than the cavalry. A huge sum was given as could be sufficient for the maintenance of such a cavalry. The king paid extravagant honour-

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royal edicts bearing the seal, issued in the reign of Abdullah and Abul Hasan, are extant in the Hyderabad archieves.

to this ambassador and loaded him with valuable presents, both for himself and for the Mughal, his master.

"Secondly, there was Aurangzeb's Ordinary Ambassador at the Court of Golcunda who issued his commands, granted passports, and also created menace and ill-treated people, and in short spoke and acted with the uncontrolled authority of an absolute sovereign." [1]

The loss of prestige which the kingdom suffered in the circumstances, undermined the very foundation of administration and destroyed the sacred bonds which bring the ruler and the subjects close together. The influential section of the population which became unruly and unfettered, disregarded the royal authority and acted tyrannically with the poor and weak. Confusion and misrule were the natural unavoidable consequences of this state of things. Most of them looked forward to bid farewell to their kingdom and join Mughal service. The king felt so frustrated in the circumstances that he lived a secluded life at Golcunda, away from the city, and avoided even court attendance. "He never appears in public to give advice and to attend to the work of administration of justice according to the custom of the country." [2]

THE RISE OF THE MARATHAS

Bijapur shared the same fate and suffered the same humiliation as her sister kingdom did in 1636. The Mughal army which was withdrawn from Golcunda was diverted to Bijapur. After capturing the rich districts of Kalyan and Bidar, the Imperial army stormed the capital and imposed thereon more or less the same disgraceful terms as were imposed on Golcunda. The Mughals, however, had no idea

1—Bernier, p. 195.
2—Bernier, pp. 194-195.

that they would be called upon shortly to face a new power which lurked in the mountain fastness of Western Deccan and was slowly gaining ground under the leadership of Sivaji. It swept the entire Deccan in course of time and proved more formidable than the Muslim Sultanates. Sivaji, whose ancestry is traced to the Patelship of Ellora, was born and brought up at Junair. He showed remarkable political talents and pregnant leadership in military affairs. He was born either in 1627 or, according to modern investigations, in 1630 and was still under his teens when he started his military career. He collected a big band of freebooters known as "Mavalies" and launched incessant raids on the Adil Shahi territories which were not properly defended by the weak government of Mohd. Adil Shah. Since 1646 when the fortress of Turna was raided, Sivaji had captured many hill fortresses in the course of ten years. Encouraged by these easy victories, he diverted his might to the Mughal territories which then lacked proper care and vigilance owing to the civil war that was being waged between Aurangzeb and his brothers. Even after that war came to a stand-still and ultimately ended in the triumph of Aurangzeb, the new Emperor was not in a position to immediately attend to the Deccan affairs for he was more absorbed in the urgent problems of the North. Sivaji was thus left free to raid the Mughal territories for about four years from 1660 to 1665. He defeated almost all the Mughal generals with the exception of Jai Singh.

The reign of Ali Adil Shah II who succeeded his father, Mohd. Adil Shah in 1656 marked a new phase in both vigour and vitality. Ali was a worthy successor of his worthy ancestors. He emerged on the political horizon of the Deccan as a hero and a saviour of the Deccan at the critical time when the Deccan Sultanates were in a grave danger. He strained

every nerve to restore the prestige, not only of his own kingdom but of the Deccan as a whole. He took the command of the army in his own hands and his two generals, Afzal Khan and Salabat Khan had succumbed to the tactics of Sivaji and thus defeated the latter at the fort of Panala in 1660.[1] The capture of Panala was a crowning triumph of Bijapur after it had sustained incessant reverses since 1646. That is the reason why the victory was sung by Mulla Nusrati, the poet-laureate of Bijapur to be a unique and historical feat :

علی نے پنل میں پنالا لیا صلابت سوں[2]

"Ali had captured the fort of Panala by a dashing courage." In the meantime a strong army under Mirza Raja Jai Singh was rushed by Aurangzeb after the defeat of Shaista Khan and Jaswant Singh. Bijapur also mobilized her strong troops under the famous general, Khawas Khan, in response to the appeal from the Mughal Emperor to co-operate and make a front against the common foe. Khawas Khan inflicted a crushing defeat on Sivaji in 1665 (1076 A.H.) long before the Mughal general took the field. Sivaji was so exhausted by the assaults made by Bijapur that he had no alternative but to lay down his arms and accept the Mughal terms.[3]

An ugly phase of the situation, however, was the diversion of the Mughal army against Bijapur for no fault of hers. Sivaji, after he was freed from the Mughal manace, persuaded Jai Singh to attack and liquidate Bijapur, regardless of his ancestral ties with the kingdom. It was certainly a short-sighted policy of Jai Singh to adopt this hostile attitude against the kingdom which was in full agreement and alliance

1—Ali Nama by Mulla Nusrati.

2—Basateen, p. 376.

3—Basateen by Zuberi, pp. 398-399.

with the Empire and had extended her co-operation in her pressing need. It was an irony of fate that the Imperial army which was expedited against Sivaji was now diverted against Bijapur.[1] The kingdom had now to face a double danger. But Ali, who was a shrewd statesman and a brave soldier, was equal to the occasion and his celebrated generals, Khawas Khan and Syed Ilyas were more than a match to the Mughals. Golcunda did not like to remain a silent observer and she also contributed her might on the critical occasion which had called for a whole-hearted co-operation between the Deccan Kings. A big contingent under Sharza Khan and another auxiliary force consisting of a cavalry of twelve thousand horses and an infantry of forty thousand soldiers under Neknam Khan was mobilized to reinforce Bijapur.[2] In the five battles which were fought in 1666

1—Zubairi, Basateen, pp. 404-408

2—Zubairi Basateen p. 413. On the previous occasion when Doulatabad was invaded by Mahabat Khan, king Abdullah had adopted a passive attitude, though he was coaxed to come to the rescue. Bijapur, on the contrary was always alive to the call of duty and contributed her might on every occasion when co-operation of the Deccan kings was urgently needed and the solidarity of hte country was at stake. It never failed to supply men and material against Mahabat Khan. With a view to strengthening the political ties between the two kingdoms, Mohd. Adil Shah had married the Golcunda princess, Khadija Sultana in 1633 (1043). The marriage too did not serve the purpose for which it was celebrated. King Abdullah was so cowed down by the rising power of the Mughals that he was reluctant to extend his helping hand. Khadija Sultana who is popularly known as Haji Bare Sahib, was a great personality of the age. It was to this lady that Ali Adil Shah II owed all his political and military attainments. She exhorted both the kingdoms to rise to the occasion when the solidarity of the kingdom was endangered. (Zubairi, Basateen p. 362).

between the two camps, Jai Singh was ignominously routed and died of broken heart at Burhanpore in 1667.[1] It was a splendid triumph for Bijapur against the Imperial odds which reminded one of the palmy days of Malik Amber and Chand Bibi. It made Bijapur strong enough to survive for twenty years more

1—Zubairi, Basateen p. 409-424-428. Zubairi says that Jai Singh came to the Deccan in 1075-1665 and retreated two years later in 1077-1667 in utter despair.

CHAPTER XIV

THE LAST STRUGGLE

Abdullah Qutub Shah had no male issue to inherit his dominion but he was survived by three daughters, the eldest of whom was married to an Arab refugee known as Syed Ahmed or Syed Nizamuddin Ahmed, as he was sometimes called. Tavernier extols him as a prince of Arabia [1] but, as a matter of fact, he belonged to a noble family of Hejaz and had come to Golcunda as a foreigner to try his fortune. By virtue of nobility of birth and intellectual attainments, he endeared himself soon to the king and the people and was packed up for matrimonial alliance with the princess. The second daughter was married to the Mughal prince, Mohammed Sultan, the eldest son of Aurangzeb and had served the purpose of a price for peace. The marriage was celebrated on 19th Jamadi-us-Sani 1656 (1066 A.H.) and the princess was taken to the North. Nothing was known of the princess after she departed to Agra. She probably suffered a lifelong detention along with her husband who had incurred the displeasure of his father. The third daughter who is sometimes known Badshah Bibi was married to Abul Hasan who succeeded to the Qutub Shahi throne by force of circumstance.

The ancestry of Abul Hasan is shrouded in mystery. It is very difficult to establish his lineal descent and his connec-

1—Tavernier Vol. I, p. 161-162.

tion with the Qutub Shahi dynasty in the midst of conflicting views and versions. We find diametrically opposed views and versions, partly recorded and partly believed on hearsay, about his lineal descent. A local tradition of Siddipet has it that Abul Hasan was a son of a weaver who lived in the village of Anantagiri and was brought up by Akkanna and Madanna, the Brahmins of the village.[1] When he became king by force of circumstances, he recognised the noble services of the Brahmin brothers and elevated them to high positions. Some historians, however, describe him as a foreigner who had hailed either from Arabia or Persia and this mistaken version may be attributable to the fact that his co-son-in-law, Syed Ahmed had hailed from Arabia. Lala Jagjiwan Dass says that Abul Hasan was a homeless Irani who had hailed from Hamdan. "He employed all the possible mechinations in his power to marry the daughter of king Abdullah after the death of he latter and rose to kingship."[2] The writer of Miftahut-Tawarik holds: "Sultan Abul Hasan, the ruler of the country was a scion of a noble family of Persia and had come to Golcunda as a merchant. But he, however, attracted the attention of Abdullah Qutbul Mulk for his intelligence and ready wit. As the king had no son, he was chosen for matrimonial relation with the king's daughter."[3] The European travellers, Tavernier, Bernier and Manucci speak of him as a kinsman of Abdullah.[4] Manucci and Morton represent him as the direct descendant of the early kings of Golcunda.[5] Thevenot

1—I am indebted to Mr. Khailullah, B.A., LL.B., a native of Siddipet for this tradition. Osmania Magazine, Vol. 10, No. 3-4.
2—Lala Jagjivan Dass. Muntakhab Tawarikh, p. 75.
3—Meftah, p. 284.
4—Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 138.
5—Manucci, Vol. IV, Additional Notes, p. 444.

describes him as the near and blood relation of the Qutubshahi kings.[1] All these statements, no doubt, reveal some family connection of Abul Hasan with the Qutub Shahi dynasty, but they fail to establish what exactly the relation was. The Mughal historions speak of him both as a nephew and son-in-law of Abdullah Qutub Shah.[2] Some local historians try to establish his relationship with Abdullah indirectly through his mother, Hayat Bakhshi Begum. The statement is supported by Khafi Khan as well.[3] Another local historian Ghulam Hussain Jouher who had comiled his famous history, Mahnama in 1229 A.H. makes the point more definite. He has based his argument on the statement of Abu Mohd., Abul Hasan's own nephew, who lived a long life of 104 and narrated the history to the author in person. When the marriage of the youngest daughter was receiving the earnest consideration of king Abdullah, he enquired about the lineal descent of Abdul Hasan. The responsible ladies of the palace who were known as Mah Bano and Saruma, satisfied the king by their catagorical assertion that "Abul Hasan, being one of the grandsons of Saif Khan Ainul Mulk was a scion of the Qutub Shahi dynasty and, as such, he was a rightful candidate for the matrimonial alliance."[4] This statement dispels all doubts and illusions about the ancestry of Abul Hasan, and helps us to draw the correct conclusion that Abul Hasan was

1—Thevenot, part III, p. 101.

2—Saqui, Alamgiri, p. 143.

3—Abu Turab, Vol. I, 161: Khafi Khan, Vol. II, p. 310.

4—Ghulam Husain, Mahnama, pp. 315-316.
Ghulam Hussain, the author of Mahnama is indebted to Abu Mohd., the nephew of Abul Hasan who lived a long life of 104 and related the whole story to the author. Abu Mohd. was also related to the author and as such the statement seems to be more reliable than those of other writers.

the grandson of Saif Khan Ainul Mulk who was the son of Fathi Khan, the cousin of Sultan Quli Qutub Shah and, as such, he was undoubtedly a kinsman of the Qutub Shahi dynasty. The fact is also corroborated by the statement of the Dutch traveller, Hubert who says that Abul Hasan "is a kinsman of the Qutub Shahi dynasty and a descendant of Ibraheem Qutub Shah."[1] That is why later historians regard Abul Hasan as the nearest relation of Abdullah Qutub Shah.[2]

A relative of the Qutub Shahi kings though he was, Abul Hasan was not recognised and respected as such. He had no access to the durbar and the palace. The reasons seem to be that he lived an ascetic life in one of the religious monasteries at Hyderabad, cut off from the tumult of the royal palace. No serious notice was taken of him and king Abdullah was not well disposed towards him and, according to Khafi Khan, the king even looked down upon him for some of his misdeeds. Tavernier goes a step further and denounces Abul Hasan as a "debauchee who had incurred the displeasure of the king, otherwise, he would have certainly been nominated for mariage with the princess. It was only after the marriage with the princess that he mended his ways."[4] But these statements present an incorrect picture of Abul Hasan, not confirmed by facts. Abul Hasan, as a matter of fact, never stooped to lower pleasures, but he rather led a pure and an abstemious life. If Mahnama is to be relied upon, he led a scholarly and a God-fearing life. He was highly educated and was equipped with intellectual and

1—Hubert's Travels, Vol. III, page 425.
2—Gulam Hussain, Gulzar Asafia, p. 47.
3—Khafi Khan, Vol. III, p. 407.
4—Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 138.

moral attainments. He never used intoxicants nor did he indulge in low pleasures.[1] Ali Husaini Alkoh Kailvi, a contemporary writer, reveres Abul Hasan as a highly religious and God-fearing man, devoted to regular prayers and other religious observances. He was well-versed in "Quranic elocution" and recited the Quran in the seven manners of pronounciation. He had also ordered the said writer to compile a book on the art of Quranic elocution. "I have found the king the image of God, protected by angelic bands, steadfast and unswerving in the path of truth and tradition of the Prophet and of those who are rightuous people and are rightly guided in the right path, may God be pleased with them. As the saying goes, "the people follow in the steps of their kings," I also found that all classes of the people were inclined to learn this august science and noble art."[2] It bears eloquent testimony to his nobility and purity of character. But it appears that in the beginning he saw no bright future and, therefore, he had chosen to live an ascetic life as a disciple of the famous sage of the time, Shah Raju Qattal to whose monastery he had dedicated himself for ever. That is why Abdullah knew little about him and had never dreamt of giving his daughter's hand to him. It was only by force of some ertraordinary circumstances that the king enquired of Abul Hasan and he was appraised of the latter's particulars through the inmates of the palace and ultimately the princess was married to him.[3]

1—Mahnama, Gulam Hussain,. pp. 314-315-316.

2—Hilyatul Qari, Ali Husani Alkoh Kailvi p. 2-3. Library Dr. Abdul Haque, Madras.

3—A local popular tradition has it that Shah Raju has expressed his prediction in categorical terms that the princess would be

(Continued on page 220)

The political and social forces which led to sudden change were rather phenomenal. The princess who was married to Abul Hasan in the dramatic circumstances was, as a matter of fact, already betrothed to Syed Sultan, a foreigner who belonged to a venerable family of Hejaz. He had come to Golcunda in the same manner as the king's eldest son-in-law, Syed Ahmed did and was welcomed for his noble and venerable descent. They knew each other fully well as they had hailed from the same class and country and imbided the same social and intellectual atmosphere. Syed Sultan was a pupil of Syed Ahmed's father and hence the latter, on being enquired about him, did not hesitate to give as authentic picture of Syed Sultan's nobility of birth and his social status. It was on these grounds that the king was pleased to betrothe his third daughter o him. It is certain that the move for the marriage was initiated by Syed Ahmed who, being the elde t son-in-law, wielded considerable influence in the palace. The preparations for the marriage celebration were expedited immediately after the betrothal and, but for an adverse happening, the marriage would have been solemnized then and there and the course of history would have been quite different. It so happened that there took place a sudden outburst of enmity between Syed Ahmed and Syed Sultan, the reason being the latter's indi creet remark about the former. It is related that one day king Abdullah had a talk with his would-be son-in-law, Syed Sultan, and desired to know about Syed Ahmed's family and his status. Syed Sultan reported that he knew Syed Ahmed as the son

(Continued from page 219)

married to Abul Hasan and strangely enough the prophecy of of the saint came to be literally true. Gulz r Asafia by Gulam Husan p. 46. Mahnama, Asafia Library, p. 202.

of his venerable master and as the member of a family with high traditions.[1] This pronouncement fell short of Syed Ahmed's expectations. He had expected his praise in still brighter and dignified terms and, therefore, he was led to believe that Sultan intended to glorify himself at his expense. This event contributed to widening the gulf between them.[2]

The enmity grew more and more while the preperations for the marriage were advancing. Syed Ahmed and his wife insisted on the revocation of the betrothal. But the preparations which had commenced immediately after the betrothal were all made and a date was fixed for the actual ceremony. Syed Ahmed now warned the king before the wedding was due to take place, that he and his wife were bitterly opposed to the marriage and that in case the mariage was not revoked they would leave Golcunda and join the Mughal service. They had even arranged to leave the capital. Some historians go so far as to say that the bride and her mother, under the duress of Syed Ahmed and his wife were determined to comit suicide in case the wedding took place.[3] It was a very embarra ing situation both for the king and his subjects. The situation became all the more complicated by Syed Ahmed's sinister plan of leaving Golcunda for the North. The proposed flight of an inflluential man like Syed Ahmed who had conducted the state administration, constituted a serious threat to the government, that too at a time when the Mughal Emperor was throwing covetous glances at the kingdom. King Abdullah tried his utmost to prevail on his son-in-law to come to terms

1—Khafi Khan, Vol. II, p. 309.

2—Some historians give an exaggerated account of the talk and say that Sultan spoke of Ahmed in derogatory terms.

3—Gulzar Asafia, p. 147.

but it was all in vain. It was at this juncture that some of the judicious courtiers of the king advised him to desist from the original plan which was fraught with danger and suggested the name of Abul Hasan as an alternative candidate for the marriage of the princess.[1] It was the only way out at the critical moment when the king was put to a mental agony. The king in a state of dilemma, was forced to agree to the improvised plan. It is strange, as well as interesting, to note that on the very day when Syed Sultan was to appear as a bridedroom, Abul Hasan was called to Golcunda hurriedly and was seated on the dias which was prepared for Syed Sultan and was thus married to the princess. The latter was exceedingly shocked by the sudden change of events and escaped from Golcunda in a fit of despair.

THE ACCESSION OF ABUL HASAN.

The acession of Abul Hasan in supercession of the superior claims of Syed Ahmed, the eldest son-in-law, was as phenomenal an event as his marriage with the princess. According to the treaty signed in 1656, the Mughal prince, Mohd. Sultan should have been the legal and constitutional heir to the throne. But the prince was confined in prison and his case was not pressed by the Emperor. The issue of succession was, therefore, under the earnest consideration of government. Mohd. Sultan being eliminated, Syed Ahmed, the eldest son-in-law had a superior claim to the throne and had more prospects than Abul Hasan. The former and his wife, the eldest princess who was popularly known as Man Saheb or "Bari Sahibni," had exercised greater influence both within and without. Syed Ahmed played the role of a political counsellor and controlled the administration with a strong hand from the time Hayat Bakshi Begum breathed her last in 1080.

1—Gulzar Asafia, p. 147. Mahnama, Asafia Library, p. 202.

Man Sahib too exerted her tremendous influence in the palace and emplpoyed all possible means to uphold the cause of her husband. Abul Hasan, on the other hand, had no legal right to the throne and his chances appeared to be meagre.

It is true that King Abdullah, made no provision to regulate the succession and the issue remained undecided in his life time. But his apparent reticence in deciding the issue gives a clue to the inner working of his mind. Had the king been disposed favourably towards Syed Ahmed, he would have announced his decision in unequivocal and express terms and made necessary arrangements for his accession. His silence in this regard indicates that he was more inclined to Abul Hasan than Syed Ahmed. He, however, did not dare to express his inner feelings because of the dominating influence of the latte. This fact is also borne out by the statement of the French traveller, Freyer, who says that King Abdullah had nominated Abul Hasan for sucession in pursuance of the advice of Syed Muzaffer. The statement may not be true but there is every reason to believe that the king preferred Abul Hasan to Syed Ahmed for the reason that the former was not only his kinsman but was also more trustworthy than the other claimant. Being a disciple of the great sufi of the age, Abul Hasan lived a noble life and possessed excellent moral character. The presumption is further corroborated by the statement of Mahnama, according to which king Abdullah had handed over to the custody of Abul Hasan the keys of his treasury which contained fifty crores and five lakhs of huns and had advised him to do his utmost in the conduct of state affairs.[1]

Whatever legal aspect of the succession and whatever the king's genuine desire in this respect might have been, the

1—Mahnama, p. 203.

political trends of the capital were all in Abul Hasan's favour. Syed Ahmed had already spoiled his career by his arrogance and indiscretion. He was self-conceited and arrogant by nature. He took undue pride in his superior position as the eldest son-in-law and felt over-confident of his prospective kingship. He had alienated the sympathy of almost all the grandees of the State by his hot temper. Abul Hasan, on the contrary, had developed a congenial atmosphere by virtue of his gentle and humane qualities which had endeared him to all sections of the people, high and low, who were eager to espouse his cause. To quote Khafi Khan, "as Abul Hasan had lived the life of an ascetic for 15 or 16 years, and had passed through severe ordeals of life and had withstood many a storm, he had cultivated in himself human qualities and had behaved as a genial and polished gentleman so that most of the noblemen were fascinated by him."[1] These factors too must have had their own effects. However, the last days of the dying king when he was pushed to throes of agony presented a tense atmosphere. The capital was divided between two parties namely, the partisans of Syed Ahmed and those of Abul Hasan. The latter were led by Syed Muzaffar, Musa Khan Havaldar and the two Hindu brothers. Akkanna and Madanna, who were shrewd and powerful enough to assert the rights of their candidate. Being intimately associated with the king and the governmental machinery, Syed Ahmed had undoubtedly better advantage than his rival. His wife too exercised a tremendous influence in the palace. She not only handled the palace affairs like an absolute ruler, but also commanded a female guard consisting of Negro and Turkish Slave girls who were armed with weapons and were prepared for every eventuality. It is related that she used

1—Khafi Khan, Vol. III, pp. 407-408.

to have a walk round the palace with an unsheathed sword in her hand. At the time when king Abdullah lay unconscious on his death bed, there prevailed in the country a great tension which threatened a civil war and the palace, even at such a critical moment, had become a pretty kettle of fish. On the other side, Abul Hasan who counted solely on the support of Syed Muzaffar and Musa Khan did not remain a silent observer. One day, he proceeded towards the palace, mounted on the horse, with a view to studying the state of affairs. His appearance at this juncture roused the hostile feelings of Syed Ahmed's partisans who feared a coup d'etat and thought that he had come to capture the palace and seize political power. The party assaulted Abul Hasan at once and he, being single-handed, was forced to run away. Though he had managed to escape from the skirmish, without any injury to his person, yet one of the flanks of his charger was severely wounded. He left the palace at once and arrived at the residence of Syed Muzaffar where he had dropped himself down on the ground quite helpless. Khafi says that he lay down on the ground almost unconscious. This statement may be dismissed as being exaggerated, but it seems that he was too perturbed to face the situation. Syed Muzaffar cheered him up and advised him to face the situation with a solemn vow to do or die.[1]

Syed Muzaffar to whom Abul Hasan owed his entire career, was a very shrewd and level-headed statesman. He, being a man of high Persian origin and a scion of Mazindarani royal family, had a great cultural back-ground, and also possessed a vast political experience and vision. He commanded the army as a general, "Sar Khail."[2] He

1—Khafi Khan, Vol. III, p. 408.

2—Khafi Khan, Vol. II, p. 311.

calmly examined the situation and handled it in a graceful manner. He envisaged that he could overpower the rival party within a few hours. He, therefore, moved round the capital in the company of Abul Hasan and satisfied himself that all the vulnerable spots were properly controlled and brought under vigilant supervision. His next step was the seizure of the royal palace which was dominated by Syed Ahmed and his wife, Bari Sahibni, while the king lay unconscious in the throes of agony. As a general of the army, he could employ the armed guards in any manner he liked and he thus posted them all around the palace with the result that the rival claimants were rendered helpless. Later on, he weaned away to his side all the people that had identified themselves with Syed Ahmed. Thus the whole plan of the rival group was foiled in a moment and Abul Hasan was proclaimed king of Golcunda immediately after the dying monarch breathed his last on 21st April 1672 (1083 A.H.)

Syed Ahmed was kept in confinement where he died within a year and his wife met with the same fate. Syed Sultan had already escaped to the North and joined Mughal service with a title and mansab but one of his sons, Syed Masoom Ali was still residing at Golcunda. He too escaped after the accession of Abul Hasan. The flight of the latter two persons and their association with the Mughal government proved detrimental to the future of the Golcunda kingdom.

CHAPTER XV

THE BEGINNING OF AN END

Abul Hasan Qutub Shah who is popularly known as Tana Shah in the Deccan is the most remarkable personality known to history. His reign which lasted for 14 years from 1672 to 1687 is as phenomenal as his marriage with the Golcunda princess and his accession to the Qutub Shahi throne. He assumed the reins of government at a critical moment when the country was shaken by Maratha raids on the one hand and Mughal invasions on the other. It was a period of great unheaval in the Deccan. But Abul Hasan who was gifted with chracter and vision proved equal to the occasion. It is strange indeed that a man who was born and brought up in a remote and dingy corner of the city, away from the pomp and tumult of the royal court, acquitted himself worthily of the kingly responsibilities. He handled the state affairs, both internal and external, in a way that was becoming a born king. He possessed a degree of political insight and vision which go to make a successful king. His steadiness of mind and resoluteness of morale which he showed on critical occasions are without parallel in history. Had he been given a free hand unrestained by the Mughal interference, he would have rendered a lasting service to the country. But, unfortunately, he fell a victim to the sweeping tide of the Mughals which surged from the North and ultimately wiped out the old society and institutions of the Deccan.

Abul Hasan was proclaimed King of Golcunda on 5th Moharrum 1083 (April 1672) but in due deference to the sanctity of the mourning days the actual cremony of the occasion was deferred for 8 days. The accession durbar was held on 13th Moharrum in which Abul Hasan was installed ceremoniously on the Qutub Shahi throne, followed by the offer of 'Nazarana' by the nobility and the conferment of robes of honour commensurate with the old traditions of the kingdom. Those who had taken an active part in the coup d'etat of succession and espoused the cause of the new king were duly rewarded. Syed Muzaffar who was the chief schematist of the plan was elevated from the humble position of a palace-guard to the post of Meer Jumla with the high sounding title of Ameer-ul-Umera, peer of peers, and Musa Khan who was hitherto a Havaldar was created Khan Khana and was promoted to the post of Surkhail. Akkanna and Madanna, the two Hindu brothers, who had thrown their lot with the king's party shared equal honours. Madanna was appointed as Peshkar to Syed Muzaffar and Akkanna as Secretary to his brother. Raza Quli Neknam Khan held the governorship of Karnatak as before. The name of the new king was announced in the khutba and coins bearing his name were also minted. Immediate steps were taken to maintain the status quo in foreign relations particular with the Mughal Empire. The Emperor was assured of the traditional allegiance of the king and a substantial 'nazar' was remitted. The Emperor, in reply, sent a Firman through the Imperial messengers, Meer Abdur Rahman and Khaja Osman, thereby recognising the succession of Abul Hasan. But he, at the same time, enjoined the new king to pay regularly rupees forty lacs towards annual tribute and to abstain

from aligning with Sivaji.[1] Thereafter, in 1675 (1086), Abul Hasan sent a valuable nazar.[2]

The early part of the new regime was marred by the disloyal behaviour of Syed Muzaffar who, from the beginning, put on airs of a king-maker and did not remain content as Mir Jumla. It is a recurring feature of history that the king and the king-maker always took up the cudgels and fought for supermacy. Had Syed Muzaffar been a faithful and honest servant, he would have earned abiding fame and a distinguished place in history. But, unfortunately, he turned faithless to the utter disappointment of the king and the subjects. He resorted to mean tactics in order to dominate the whole administration and reduce the king to nullity. He tried to subdue the king's sympathisers, especially Musa Khan, who had championed his cause. To begin with, Musa Khan was accredited to governorship of Karnatak on 12th June 1672 to supply the place of Neknam Khan who had since passed away and the object underlying was to remove him from the centre. But he was not given a free hand to conduct the administration. Musa Khan, however, discharged his duties as efficiently and honestly as Neknam Khan did and gained good reputation in the province to the utter annoyance of the minister. Muzaffar sensed another danger in leaving Musa in the Karnatak province and, therefore, he missed no opportunity of injuring the latter's reputation and hampering his work epen at the cost of the Qutub Shahi prestige. The French were left free to seize Pulicat and harrras Muslim merchants. Musa, however, faced the situa-

1—Tarike Zafra, pp. 29, 37.

2—Qiwamuddin Hajib, on behalf of Abul Hasan, presented the Emperor with nine lacs of rupees, Jewels and elephants-Maasir-Alamgiri p. 144.

tion boldly and strained every nerve to uphold the Qutub Shahi prestige despite the interference from the centre. But he was removed from the province and called back to the capital to submit his accounts. He was placed in confinement on false charges of corruption and mis-appropriation. All his accounts were strictly checked and his residence was searched. It is related that jewels and cash amounting to 5 lacs were recovered from his house. The king apparently knew nothing of this and was kept in the dark.

The removal of Musa Khan from the political scene whom Muzaffar regarded as his inveterate foe was indeed a great source of satisfaction to the minister. Relieved of the anxities, he could now apply himself to the state business. He handled the entire business on his own initiative without referring it to the king who, for a time, appeared to be a mere figure-head. But Abul Hasan was too shrwd to be fooled by the minister for a long time. He put on a false appearance of indolence and sloth as if he were inclined to the life of ease and comfort and not used to the streneous life of a ruler. But he, however, studied the situation patiently and contemplated measures to overthrow the traitors. He took into confidence the Hindu brothers Akkanna and Madanna, who acted as secretaries to Syed Muzaffar and also made use of the other officers who were attached to the military service. Some historians attribute the scheme to the active and crafty mind of Madanna who had prepared the scheme in his self-interest. Madanna was, however, the chief organizer, if not the originator of the manoeuvre. As a Peshkar to Syed Muzagar, he had the knowledge of the minister's secrets and knew how to undermine his power. As a first step to implement the scheme, most of the military officers who were in league with the minister were transferred to far flung districts. When the ground was prepared for

direct action, the king received a signal from the Hindu brothers to take up the matter in hand. A durbar was accordingly held in 1674 (1085) to announce the decision of government regarding the future of the minister.[1] The king addressed the durbar in a calm and serene manner and proclaimed that Syed Muzaffar had betrayed the cause of the kingdom by his selfish and disloyal motives which were nothing short of a high treason, liable to capital punishment. But out of regard for his past record of service his case was considered liberally. He was only degraded to the old post of Bakshi and was permitted to remain in possession of his jagir assignment. The next announcement related to the appointment of Madanna as Meer Jumla with the high sounding title of Surya Parkash Rao and that of Akkanna as Peshkar to his brother. Musa Baig Khan, a new incumbent, was appointed as Surkhail. As a precautionary measure against future usuurpation of power and embezzlem nt, the king was well advised to retain the disbursement of salaries in his own hand. What is remarkable about the historical durbar was the atmosphere of strict secrecy which shrouded its whole proceedings as also the king's self-confidence and balance of mind. The whole proceeding was closely guarded so that nothing leaked out till it was officially disclosed. Syed Muzaffar and his henchmen got no incling of the danger that awaited them. They were taken by surprise. Secondly, the king weathered the storm with as much serenity and equanimity of mind as if it was an ordinary routine matter.[2] Syed Muzaffar and his son, Syed Hashim, escaped to the North and joined the Mughal service. This escape was also dramatic. Syed Muzaffar was first detained temporarily as a precautionary measure but he later

1—Khafi Khan, Vol. III, pp. 410; M. Alamgiri, p. 227.
2—Vestiges of Old Madras.

managed to escape from the prison through the contrivance of the Mughal Hajib[1] and then packed off to Delhi.

MADANNA

Now, to speak of Madanna, it appears that he came of a Telugu family of Hanamkonda. His parents Bhanuji Pantulu and Bhagia had four sons of whom two brothers, Madanna and Akkanna (the eldest), came to prominence by dint of their intellectual power. It seems that the family was long in Golcunda service. It served the kingdom with a broad outlook, good administrative ability and loyalty. Madanna and his brother were fairly educated, in keeping with the standard of the age, and were familiar with the course of studies in vogue at the time. They were conversant with Persian, the official language of the kingdom along with their mother tongue Telugu and could read royal edicts and official correspondence with ease. It is recorded of Madanna[2] that he experienced no difficulty in reading an Imperial Firman which, being written in white ink, was illegible to others. He read the Frman which was received in the reign of Abul Hasan, followed its contents and wrote its reply in the same ink. His promotion to the post of Dewan which was hitherto held by eminent personalities of Persia was a historical event of great significance. There is no doubt that as a native of Telangana and equipped with sufficient experience and knowledge of the country, Madanna

1—Maasir Alamgiri, p. 227.

2—The information about Madanna and his family is derived from Telugu sources to which I had access through Mr. Bhopal Rao, M. A. my friend and pupil. Madanna's survivors still live at Hanamkonda. Madannas' fathers' name is recorded in the Samads issued by him. He writes himself as son of Bhanuji. (The collection of Mr. Ataullah Hussaini and Professor Sajanhal).

was more eligible to the position than any foreigner. He rose to the highest post not as an upstart but gradually, by dint of his hard work and experience which he had acquired in the lower strata of service. Although the early appointments of Akkanna and Madanna are not treaceable in history, yet it may be presumed that they had joined the service in the reign of Abdullah. It appears that Madanna was first appointed in 1656 (1067) in the revenue depart ment and was promoted to the post of Peshkar to Syed Muzaffar, the then Surkhail, in 1666 (1077) to whom Madanna owed all his future career. This is, perhaps the reason why Madanna is represented by some of the historians as the camp follower of Syed Muzaffar. When the latter was created Meer Jumla in 1672 (1083), Madanna acted as his Peshkar and attended to the whole business of the depart ment. It is an irony of fate that Madanna who owed his entire career to Syed Muzaffar stepped into the shoes of his patron when he was ousted from office. Meer Jumla though he was, he exercised the full powers of Peshwa and worked to the entire satisfaction of the king. Although he lost the confidence of Golcunda subjects in the long run and roused the jealousies of people yet he enjoyed the royal favour to the last. The reason seems to be that he, in the first place, rushed to rescue the ruler when he was reduced to helplessness by the disloyal minister and, secondly, he never weavered in his loyalty to the king

An all round survey of the period during which the able king and the able minister Madanna, guided the destiny of the state, will convince us that the kingdom was well organized and efficiently administered. The king and the minister improved the tone of administration and raised the level

of efficiency in all directions by their high sense of duty and restored the Qutub Shahi power which had become weak and effete. The cherished object to which the new government was up to was the internal peace and pro perity as also the external security not only of the Golcunda kingdom but also of the Deccan at large. As far as the internal peace and prosperity were concerned, the central government was brought in close contact with the far flung districts and provinces. Ever since the king and his minister took the reins of the government, they travelled throughout the wide extent of the kingdom, especially Karnatak, more than once with a view to examine the conditions and fulfil the requirements of each province. The Karnatak province which was frequented by the European traders was more in need of personal care and attention. The 1st tour which commenced in November 1674 (1085) terminated in January 1675 (1086). The 2nd was undertaken in 1676 (1087) and the 3rd in 1678 (1089) and thus the king was in a position to gather first hand knowledge of the social and political conditions of the entire state. Abul Hasan is unjustly described by Mohd. Saqi, the court chronicler of Aurangzeb, as the most easy-going and indolent prince who never ventured on a trip out of his capital for more than two miles.[1] On the contrary, he was a widely trapelled and well informed king. He inspected in person the European establishment which had emerged in Masulipatam, Madras and Pulicut and put them under strict watch and control with the result that the Karnatak administration became as vigilant as it was in the time of Neknam Khan. The European merchants were forced to abide by the state regulations strictly. Every breach of trust and discipline on the part of the Europeans was severely dealt

1—Saqui Maasir Alamgiri, p. 308.

with by the local officers who were encouraged by the centre. The forts of Kondapalli and Kondaveer which are situated on the Eastern Ghats were also inspected and repaired. It appears that Abul Hasan stayed at the former fort for some time. The remains of the palace which he had built for himself on the top of the hill are reminiscent of his tour. Prompt steps were taken to improve agriculture and ameliorate the lot of the peasantry. New lakes were constructed and wells were sunk. The unwholesome practice of revenue collection on contract basis which had put the peasantry to hardships and depopulated the villages was discontinued by Madanna. The contractors were replaced by paid government servants who were held responsible for the collection of revenue. The deserted villages were rehabilitated. The religious endowments (Agarhars) which wre to be found in large number throughout the kingdom and drained government revenue, were put on sound basis. Taxes were imposed on them and the Agarhars which were maladministered were incorporated into the crown lands. The diamond industry which had brought a world-wide fame to Golcunda, had also deteriorated in the previous reigns. It was encouraged by the government and the miners [1] were paid higher wages. These were the reforms introduced by the new government which brought unbounded prosperity to the kingdom.

The foreign politics were more complicated than the internal affairs. The kingdom had to face the raising tide of the Mughal Empire which was surging from the North. not only to retrieve the crushing defeat sustained by Mirza Jai Singh against Bijapur but also to crush Sivaji who, after

1—This information was derived from the Oriental Library of Madras for which I am indebted to my pupil and friend Mr. Bhopal Rao, M. A.

escaping from the Imperial capital, had established securely in his mountain fastness. Sivaji was busy in planning fresh raids on the Mughal territory. The Imperial government had a double task ahead. Prince Moazzam and Jaswant Singh were respectively given the civil and military charge of the Deccan after the death of Jai Singh in 1667 (1078). The Deccan Sultanates, on the other hand, had to tighten their defensive measures for their security. The death of Ali Adil Shah II in 1672 (1083) had thrown the kingdom of Bijapur into confusion and it now stood as a golden apple, with an alluring temptation for a foreign invader.

Ali Adil Shah II, who may be acknowledged as the last hero of the Deccan, unceasingly strove for the solidarity of the country till he breathed his last. He stemmed the Mughal tide on the one side and repulsed the Maratha raids on the other. But his death in 1672 shook the very foundations of Adil Shahi kingdom. He was succeeded by his minor son Sikander Adil Shah who was only five years old. His minority offered an opportune moment to disruption and dissention and raised bitter jealousies among the Deccani and foreign groups. The Deccani party was headed by Khawas Khan and Mian Abul Mohammed, and the foreign group by Abdul Karim Bahlol Khan and their mutual jealousies sounded a death knell of the kingdom. Bahlol Khan who led the Afghan party ravaged with fire and sword and indulged in daylight plunder and pillage which the government was unable to check. It was also unfortunate that Mian Abul Mohammed who had, for twelve years, rendered loyal service to the kingdom in the reign of Ali Adil Shah had retired from politics in utter despair [1] and Khawas Khan too fell a victim to a Pathan ferocity sponsored by Bahlol Khan. The Pathans were now out

1—Zubairi, Basatinus-Salatin, p. 445.

to plunder and degrade the nobility and gentry. Those lawless freebooters were pushed to action by Dilare Khan, the commander of the Mughal forces in the Deccan. But the replacement of Moazzam by Bahadur Khan Kokaltash at this juncture brought about a slight change in the situation. Although the latter showed sympathy to the Deccani party as against the Pathans, yet he was, after all, an officer of the Imperial government and the worse could be expected of him. The new governor received repeated orders from the Emperor to give the cold steel to the kingdom. But the Imperial plan was frustrated by the timely intervention of Sivaji who, in alliance with the Adil Shahi government, offered a stiff resistance to the Mughal invaders. The political understanding between Sivaji and the Adil Shahi government had been reached in 1676 (1087) according to which the latter held himself responsible for payment of one lac huns per annum and three lac huns as lump sum to the Maratha leader. Consequently, there took place a pitched battle between Bahadur Khan and Bijapur which ended in the defeat of the former.

This was a sort of a national struggle and both the Hindus and the Muslims had formed a common front to check the Mughal predominace in the Deccan. Golcunda was not content to remain a silent spectator but took an active part in the sruggle in keeping with the time honoured policy of the kingdom. The policy was unfortunately abandoned in the reign of Abdullah Qutub Shah. But Abul Hasan and Madanna who were wedded to the national cause, rose to the occasion and tried to retrieve the lossess sustained in the reign of the late king. The chaotic condition of Bijapur brought about by the minority of the boy king, called for immediate attention and action, because the loss of Bijapur also implied the loss of Golcunda. It was for the reason that

Bijapur was reinforced by Golcunda at the time when the former was invaded by Bahadur Khan Kokaltash. A strong reinforcement was rushed to Bijapur border under the personal command of Madanna.[1] But the expedition failed to effect complete co-ordination with the Adil Shahi army because of the uncalled for interventions of Bahlool Khan. Taking advantage of this, Bahadur Khan prevailed on Madanna to desist from assisting Bijapur. It had its effect and the latter left the field at Naldrug abruptly, leaving Bijapur to fight with the foe single handed. The Adil Shahi forces were left in the lurch, too demoralized to bid defiance to the Mughals and consequently Naldrug, Akalkot and Gulberga fell to the Mughal arms.[2] Some historians have imputed this defection to the sordid motives of Madanna. Even if this allegation is not true, it must be admitted that Madanna was certainly guilty of a breach of trust, derogatory to the Qutub Shahi honour and prejudicial to the collective security of the Deccan.[3]

But Bahadur Khan's military achievements were too meagre to satisfy the Emperor. Moreover, Dilare Khan who was Second in Command prevailed on the Emperor in 1677 (1088) to give him full charge of the Deccan. On assuming the full charge, Dilare Khan spread his troops from Gulberga to Malkhed which formed the Western border of the Qutub Shahi kingdom. He offered his services for the annexation of Golcunda provided he was properly encouraged and reinforced by the centre. His request was promptly responded to and an Imperial army was despatched for the

1—Madanna Commanded an army 10 to 20 thousand strong.

2—History of Aurangzeb, J. Sarkar, Vol. IV, p. 144

3—According to some historians Madanna had accepted bribe—See Jadunath Sarkar, Vol. IV, p. 144.

purpose. Bahlol Khan of Bijapur whom Fryer calls a good soldier and a Pathan,[1] played the role of an arch traitor on this occasion. He extended open support to the invaders. In these circumstances, Golcunda had to be alert and tighten her defences against the impending danger. Mohammed Ibraheem, the Golcunda commander, marched to Malkhed to see that the town was adequately defended and provided with men and war material. Ibraheem's action synchronized with the siege of Gulberga by the Mughals. Just at the time, the Golcunda commander received an Imperial firman with a warning not to co-operate with the Marathas. It was again followed by a stern command which was communicated to Abul Hasan through Dilare Khan with the fiat to pay one crore rupees and ten thousand horses as an indemnity for the offences which he had committed. Abul Hasan was accused of alligning himself with Sivaji and of having given shelter to Shaikh Minhaj, the Mughal renegade. The latter was originally an Adil Shahi servant, who had entered Mughal service but had later deserted the Mughal camp and retired to Golcunda. Meanwhile, the combined army of Dilare Khan and Bahlol Khan was arrayed near Malkhed. Abul Hasan offered a sum of Rs. 5 lacks to avoid bloodshed. But Dilare Khan and Bahlol Khan who were bent on war, rejected the offer and launched an attack. A pitched battle was fought in which the invaders sustained an inglorious defeat with the heavy loss of 700 soldiers and 7 elephants, nearly six or seven officers and left on the field a large number of the sick and wounded. The Golcunda camp was reinforced by a fresh army under Shaik Minhaj, Rustum Rao and Sanjar Khan. The Mughals held out for two months and met the foe for the second time, but were repulsed on several occasions. Hard

1—Fryer, Vol. II, p. 5.

pressed by the scarcity of food and water, they were forced to retreat in sad plight to save the remnant of the army. The retreat was trying indeed and they had to cover the long distance of 20 miles to Gulberga in 12 days.

Though the Mughal menace was thus averted yet the tottering kingdom of Bijapur still lingered on in the same plight. It continued to arrest the attention of both the Golcunda and Bijapur statesmen and they were called upon to deal with the grave problem in the interest of the Deccan. Masood Khan, the son-in-law of Siddi Jouhar Salabat Khan was one of the statesmen who felt pity for the poor kingdom which was undermined by the treachery of Bahlol Khan. He appealed to Abul Hasan Qutub Shah in person for help and immediate internvention so that the poor kingdom might live. The appeal received a prompt re ponse from the Golcunda king who was anxious to save the kingdom of Bijapur. The immediate step urgently needed at this juncture was to eliminate Bahlol Khan who was the source of the whole trouble and then place Masood Khan at the helm of affairs.[1] Abul Hasan, therefore, invited Abdul Karim Bahlol Khan to his court and to warn him of the dangers that his policy might lead to. And the latter, despite the inherent weakness of his character and self interest, could not evade the invitation of the Golcunda king. He hurried to Golcunda leaving his son-in-law Jamsheed Khan to represent him in Bijapur. Abul Hasan took this opportunity to rebuke Abdul Kareem on the deplorable condition of Bijapur. He warned him against the impending danger which threatened the kingdom if the political deterioration continued in the same pace. He exhorted them to come to terms and put the house in orded before it was too late. He spoke to Abdul Kareem thus :—

1—Zubairi, Basatinus Salatin, p. 453.

"The Servants of the State, dedicated to its cause and loyalty, devoted to its service, realizing that their good name in this world and their status in the world hereafter, depend on their unstinted devotion and sacrifice in the service of their kingdom, are bound to see that the kingdom of their patron and master, remains prosperous and flourishing. They should sink their differences and avoid domestic rivalries, concentrate themselves to ward off foreign enemies and undo all their hazardous attempts to annex it. If they continue to seek their self-interests, fail to overcome domestic squibles, maintain their family jealousies and factional rivalries leading to blood feuds, it is obvious that the enemies who are on the look out for an opportunity to annex it will rush from all directions and the kingdom will ultimately fall in their hands. And then nothing will remain but a deep feeling of despondency and frustration in one and all and the servants of Adil Shahi kingdom will be subject to universal reproach and curse for generations to come. The sum and substance of this discourse is that the dissensions among the Adil Shahi servants have already shaken the foundations of the kingdom, rather brought the whole edifice to the verge of collapse in a way that one more stroke is enough to undermine it. It is therefore proper, even advisable for you to disband the troops and, withdrawing from active politics, live a retired life for some time, and entrust the functions and duties of premiership to Masood Khan. It is imperatively necessary to maintain order and discipline in the kingdom by your whole-hearted support and loyal co-operation. This course will receive the approval and applaud from all and sundry and bring prosperity to you and to all the well-wishers of the kingdom and to the people in general."[1]

1—Zubairi, Basateen, pp. 453-454.

Abdul Kareem Bahlol was deeply moved by the king's exhortation and when he returned home, he reproduced the king's speech to exert pressure on the officers of the State. It had its effect and Bahlol, under the influence of Abul Hasan Qutub Shah consented to relinquish his Peshwaship in favour of Siddi Masood, but he demanded six lac huns in order to pay the Pathan soldiers their arrears before he so retired. The agreement reached at between the two parties, Abul Hasan Qutub Shah and Abdul Kareem Bahlol Khan was concluded on the terms that (1) the Pathan soldiers would be disbanded after they were fully paid their arrears, (2) Bahlol Khan would retire from politics and live a quiet life in one of the jagirs, (3) a resident officer deputed by Golcunda would be stationed at Bijapur to look after the state affairs, (4) the foreign policy would be so formulated and pursued as to accord with the political interest of both the kingdoms. It was further agreed that Bijapur would not enter into an army alliance with the Mughals which would run counter to the spirit of the pact. The Golcunda government held itself responsible for the defence and security of Bijapur and undertook to advance six lacs of huns for the payment of the soldiers' arrears because the Bijapur kingdom was financially a levanter. The document was signed by both the parties and Abul Hasan honourably wrote down a promissory note of six lac huns.[1]

When the agreement was concluded, Mohammed Ibraheem, the Golcunda general, commissioned his son, Sanjar Khan to escort Siddi Masood to Bijapur and to give him the charge of Peshwaship after the agreement was confirmed by Sikander Adil Shah and Masood Khan. Akkanna was deputed to dishcharge the duties of a Hajib (Resident Officer). Had

1—Zubairi, Basateen, pp. 454-455-456.

it been observed faithfully, the said agreement would have solved intricate problems and set the matter right, but the terms of the agreement were unfortunately violated before its ink dried up. On his way to Bijapur, Masood Khan en-ered into another pact with Dilare Khan at Gulberga which ran counter to the previous pact. The new agreement was sponsored by the Imperial government, especially Dilare Khan, who was perturbed by the Golcunda pact which they deemed to be detrimental to the Imperial cause and therefore he was anxious to make it a failure. Masood Khan was pre-vailed upon to co-operate with the Imperial government against Sivaji and strengthen the hands of friendship with the marriage of Sikander's sister, Padshah Bibi, with a Mughal prince. The agreement changed the entire situation and as a sequel thereof Abul Hasan withheld the payment of six lac huns. The unfortunate result of this deviation was that the Pathans again took to plunder and pillage and the members of the nobility and gentry were manhandled. It caused further deterioration in the administration of the State. Masood who exercised the full powers of a Peshwa proved a failure both at home and abroad. Akkanna was called back to Golcunda in 1678 (1089) though the political rela-tions between the two kingdoms remained unchanged. Abul Hasan, however, never ceased to extend his helping hand to Bijapur in an hour of trial whenever the kingdom was hard-pressed by foreign odds, and it should be borne in mind that he ran to its help despite the strong opposition and stern warning from the Imperial government. Such a necessity arose in 1684 (1096) when the critical hour had come and the unfortunate kingdom was invaded, Moazam and Bahadur Khan were stationed at Akalkot to prevent the march of Golcunda forces for which Sikandar Adil Shah had made a fervent appeal. The Adil Shahi Hajib at

Golcunda explained the gravity of the situation to Madanna and requested him to honour the old agreement. Abul Hasan lost no time in despatching an army under Ambaji Rao on 14th August 1685 (1097) though he was solemnly warned by the Emperor against this action. This army, however, failed to reach its destination because it was intercepted by the Mughal General Baharamad Khan who was stationed at Golcunda border for the purpose. To make the matters worse, some of the letters of Abul Hasan which were addressed to the Golcunda envoy accredited to the Imperial capital, and which revealed the king's plan of mobilizing a strong army of forty thousand were intercepted and handed over to the Emperor. It was at this juncture that a Mughal army under Shah Alam was rushed o Golcunda and after the fall of Bijapur, the Emperor himself followed his son to launch an attack.

AN ESTIMATE OF MADANNAS' CAREER.

The role of Madanna who had dominated the social and political life of Golcunda for at least 12 years is the most controversial piece of the Qutub Shahi history. It is very difficult to depict a true and an impartial picture of Madanna's work and character in the middle of conflicting views and adverse remarks about him. As a minister, he stands condemned before the bar of history. The Emperor painted him in the most derogatory terms as "infidel, debaucherous and tyrrannical."[1] Mohammed Saqui speaks of him and his brother as "the most accused Hindus,"[2] Khafi Khan as "the two infidels rancourous to the core"[3] And Abu

1—Khafi Khan, Vol. III, p. 328. کافر فاجر ظالم

2—Saqi, p. 285 هنود مطرود

3—Khafi Khan, Vol. II, p. 292; Vol. III, p. 471.
هر دو برادر شدید العداوت

Turab represents them "as the two Brahmin brothers doomed and condemned."[1] Girdhari Lal refers to the minister as "Madanna Brahmin, native of Telangana of fiendish conduct has no parallel in mischief".[2]

It is, however, undeniable that Madanna, as a minister, has had many achievements to his credit. He showed unwavering loyalty to his king and the kingdom throughout the ministership though he lapsed into grave mistakes in the pursuit of his policy. He was a patriotic administrator with a deep and sincere love for the king and for the country to which he belonged. He was a shrewd statesman, strict taskmaster and firm administrator with some degree of wisdom and experience. He improved the tone of administration, raised the level of efficiency and brought the central and provincial machinery under strict vigilance and supervision. He introduced agricultural and industrial reforms which brought unbounded prosperity to the kingdom. But, at the same time, we cannot overlook the dark side of Madanna's career. It is not absolutely clear and unstained. The weak points of Madanna's character and policy which provoked hostile feelings and roused general resentment can be easily discerned. The statements of foreign travellers who wrote their travels independently outside India cannot be brushed aside. The sentiments of the general public and the inmates of the palace which grew hostile against him cannot be ignored. The general resentment which ultimately assumed an unproportionate magnitude and burst into a storm only to wipe out not only the minister but his whole family is unpre-

1—Abu Turab, p. 368. هر دو برادر برهمن شوم و ملوم

2—Girdhari Lal, Tarikhe-Zafra, p. 35.
ادنا برهمن تلنگانه درفتنه و ابلیس خوئی بے مثال بود

cedented in the history of Golcunda. No high placed officer of Madanna's rank suffered the disgraceful treatment which fell to his lot. It shows that the causes which brought about the general discontent were genuine.

The causes which were responsible for the general resentment and somewhat rude and crude attitude of the people against Madanna and his family are many and are not far to seek. In the first place, Madanna's patriotism was tainted with narrow sympathies. He seems to have been animated by ultra patriotic fervour tinged with regional bias. He cherished a feeling of animosity towards the foreigners who had setteled in the kingdom. We know that thousands of Turks, Persians and Mughals had migraed and settled in Golcunda ever since the kingdom came into existence and had made immense fortune under the patronage of the Qutub Shahi government either by government service or by free professions. The influx continued till the last days of the kingdom. But these foreigners were more fortune-seekers than faithful citizens of the kingdom dedicated to its cause. That is the reason why their influence in the social and political life of the kingdom was viewed with unconcealed jealousy by the Golcunda people. The Deccanis chafed under the foreign predominace, looked forward to favourable opportunity to overthrow their yoke. Any political pandemonium offered a golden opportunity to the Deccanis and endangered the security of the foreigners who could not live without Government protection. The foreigners were quick to suppress every insurrection and supported the government against all disaffected elements. Madanna displayed the national bias more than any of his contemporaries, and consistently combatted the sinister influence of the foreigners. From the very beginning when he assumed the reins of the

government, he made a definite plan to get rid of the foreign element. In the course of a few years he displaced a large number of foreigners and patronized the Deccanis. To quote a historian, he patronized his country-men in preference to foreign elements.[1] Hence it was easy for his enemies to confuse his ultra-patriotic spirit with communalism. The displacement of foreigners by a sudden stroke of pen and their suppression by local talent especially Hindus was provocative. It was certainly hasty and premature to displace the Persians and Turks who had enjoyed government patronage for well nigh over two centuries. He seems to have implimented his drastic policy of purging the foreigners more on regional and nepotic lines than purely national and consequently Muslim community suffered more than the Hindus. A large number of Muslim officers were dislodged from their position and Hindus, most of whom were related to the minister's family were appointed. To give some instances of the new appointments, Akkanna, the elder brother of the minister was the one who was promoted from the post of Peshkar to that of Mujamdar. Asanna who was one of his cousins, was appointed governor of Warangal. Yankanna, his nephew who was invested with the title of Rustum Rao, was elevated from one post to the other ranging from the governorship to that of Sarlashkar. Not only the central government was dominated by the kith and kin of the minister but also the province of Karnatak which was governed by Lingappa and Yankanna, was equally in their grip. The policy was bound to create country wide discontent and resentment. Mohammed Ibraheem who was favoured by the minister with titles and promotions was the only exception in the heirarchy of government officials. He

1—Abu Turab, p. 368.

was favoured with the title of Khalilullah Khan Pilang Hamla (Panther in attack) and was promoted to the post of Sar Lashker and then to the governorship of Karnatak. But a dispassionate survey of facts reveals that the rise of Ibraheem was due more to his servility than to his moral and intellectual attainments. He seems to have cajoled Madanna and his family or rather, according to an author, he advanced a big sum of one lac and three thousand as an illegal gratification to the minister for his promotion. The following couplet which Ibraheem had engraved on the gem of his signet bears eloquent testimony to his servile mentality and his indebtedness to the minister.

زالتفات بادشاه و پنڈت روشن روان
گشت ابراهیم سر لشکر خلیل الله خان

> "By the grace of the king and the enlightened
> Pandit, Ibraheem became Sarlashker and was
> awarded the title of Khalilullah Khan."[1]

Secondly, the minister's general treatment of the Muslim community is not above suspicion. The position of the Muslim Community under Madanna's regime is the most controversial question which deserves careful study in the light of concrete facts. The consensus of opinion of all contemporary historians, both Hindu and Muslim is that Madanna was rather tyrrannical and communal in his treatment to his Muslim subjects. The Muslim population in general was unfairly treated and their grievances, although represented to the government, went unheeded. To quote Mohammed Saqui, "Islam and Muslims were held in low esteem; mosques remained neglected whereas the temples

1—Saqui, Alamgiri, p. 267.

were properly cared for."[1] If the statement of Saqui, the court chronicler of Aurangzeb is dismissed as prejudiced and unreasonable, the truth of foreign travels which were written independently can hardly be questioned. Madanna's visit to the Hindu temple and his address to Muslim soldiers who escorted him on that occasion are described in almost all histories more or less in identical terms and corroborated by travellers. It is related that when the minister attended a temple ceremony escorted by a band of troops consisting mostly of Muslim soldiers who belonged to venerable families of Syeds and Shaiks, in the course of his journey, the minister addressed the soldiers in a haughty and peremptory tone. "Your ancestors have committed outrages against Hindus and desecrated Hindu temples in the past," said Madanna, "now in retaliation I shall be reducing you to the meanest position." At these words the Syeds burst into tears.[2] Khafi Khan records another event of ill treatment : that is a Syed was brutally handled and his hands were mutilated on a false charge of embezzlement by the order of the Minister.[3] Manucci rerords an interesting case of an Irani who happned to be on the bank of a river for a wash. In the meantime a Hindu came to the same place and began to wash his clothes to create some mischief. He stood in a very close range to the Irani and beat his clothes in a rude manner that the latter was drenched. At this, the Irani gently requested the Hindu offender to step aside and wash clothes in a way not to pollute him. Instead of acceeding to the wish, the Hindu used vulgar language and gave him a blow. The

1—Saqui, Maasir. اسلام و اسلامیان را وقعے ذمی گزاشت
Alamgiri, p. 285. مساجد بے رونق بودند و کنائس آباد

2—Abu Turab, Part I, p. 368.

3—Khafi Khan, Vol. p. 311.

Irani gave him a slap in retaliation. It caused a general melee. A number of Hindus who gathered there handled the Irani roughly and took him to Madanna in chains. His hand was cut off by the order of the minister. The poor Irani realised that his grievance would receive no redress and left Golcunda in despair and approached the Mughal Durbar with his severed hand soaked in oil. He was received by the Emperor sympathetically and was assured of full justice.[1] All these statements furnish a clue to the real position yet they cannot be taken as literally true but with subdued feelings of doubt and conviction. There is documentary evidence against this. We are in possession of sanads issued by Madanna conferring cash grants on the venerable families of Syeds.[2]

The foreign policy of Madanna in respect of the Mughal Empire, the Marathas and the Deccan Sultanates is equally controversial. The policy may be justified in principle but it is hard to appreciate the way in which it was implemented. The policy of alliance with Sivaji and Sambhaj with a view to forming a bullwark against the Mughals was highly injudicious. The Maratha leaders never justified the confidence reposed in them. They derived immense benefits from the treaties which they concluded with Golcunda but they never fulfilled their obligations in relation to his Kingdom. Bijapur was left entirely to its fate when it was beset by Mughal

1—Manucci, Vol. III, pp. 131, 132.

2—The collection of Atallah Hussani Advocate, Dabeerpura, Hyderabad. A sanad conferring a cash grant on Shah Habeebullah, a famous religious head, is extant in the collection. It proves that the venerable families of Syeds and Sufees were not subjected to miserable life because of Madanna, as alleged by the Mughals, but they were respected and awarded liberal grants. The Sanad was issued and signed by Madanna under the order of the king.

odds. The abrupt withdrawal of Madanna from the battle-field at the instigation of Mughal commander was an ignoble act. It not only wrecked the morale of the Adil Shahis but also damaged the Qutub Shahi prestige. The fall of Bijapur signified the end of the Deccan solidarity and ultimately led to the extinction of Golcunda as well. If some authorities are to be trusted, Madanna went to the length of accepting bribe from the Mughal government on the one hand and from the East India Company of Madras on the other.

CHAPTER XVI

THE BATTLE OF MALKHED

The two decades that elapsed after Aurangzeb's accession to the Imperial throne, brought no tangible change in the poitical set up of the Deccan with the exception of the sanguine wars waged between the Mughal Empire on the one side and the Marathas and the Deccan Sultanates on the other. The Deccan Sultanates of Golcunda and Bijapur were struggling hard to preserve their integrity against the overwhelming tide of the Mughals, whereas the Marathas had regained fresh vigour under the renewed activities of Sivaji. Bijapur had inflicted inglorious defeats on almost all the Mughal invaders like Jai Singh, Dilare Khan and Bahadur Khan Kokaltash, and Golcunda had routed Delare Khan and Behlol at Malkhed. But the death of Sivaji in 1680 A. D. (1091) changed the whole situation. The Maratha leader was succeeded by his son, Sambhaji whose unscruplous raids raised hues and cries throughout the Deccan. The peaceful citizens groaned under the calamities which befel them. The civilized city of Burhanpur was sacked in 1681 (1092) and the people of the city were subjected to untold miseries. They discontinued the Friday prayers under protest and appealed to the Emperor for immediate help. They pleaded that they could not congregate for the Friday Sermon if the Imperial aid was not forthcoming. The pathetic appeal was promptly responded to and the Emperor decided at once to remove the distress of the Deccan people. "I am proceeding in that

direction," said the Emperor, "to teach a lesson to the infidels of the Deccan."[1] To worsen the situation, the Emperor's youngest son, prince Akbar who was enticed by some of the Rajput leaders, rose in revolt against his father. Failing in his attempt to consolidate his position in Rajputana, the prince fled to the Deccan and made common cause with Sambhaji. The Emperor had to face this double danger which threatened the very Mughal authority in the Deccan, because the prince's rebellion was likely to encourage and strengthen both the Marathas and the Muslim powers of the South. That was the reason why Aurangzeb, like his own father, decided to tackle the Deccan problems in person.

Apart from the incident that had occurred recently and called for an immediate action, namely, the sack of Burhanpur and the flight of Akbar to the South, the Imperial government had a higher motive too : the long range policy of the Deccan conquests had now to be pursued. The Mughal Emperors, right from Akbar to Aurangzeb had always cherished the desire of a united Empire, embracing the whole of the sub-continent and unifying the whole country. With that end in view, they had launched a well-contemplated scheme of subjugating the Deccan. The sinister influence of the Persian Court which was increasing day by day in the Deccan Sultanates was another factor which had awakened the sense of danger and impelled them to take up the matter earnestly. It was evident that the Safavide kings of Persia had entertained an age-long animosity against the Indian Mughals and had employed all possible means in their power to crush them. They made incessant attacks on the historical fort of

1—Khafi Khan, Vol. II, p. 275. ما خود بدولت برائے تنبیہم کفار دکن متوجہ آں طرف می شویم

Qandhar on the one side and sought the alliance of the Deccan kings on the other. It was, therefore, becoming a grave danger and the Mughal Emperors could not afford to rest on their oars. Although Aurangzeb followed the same old policy which his ancestors had initiated three generations ago, yet his method of its implementation differed largely from theirs. Aurangzeb's crude method, however, defeated the noble object. A better and wise mode of action would have ensured a brighter future.

After the month of Ramzan was over, the Emperor embarked on his journey to the South and arrived at Burhanpur in 1682 (1092). He stayed there for four months before he proceeded to Aurangabad with the bulk of the Imperial forces to tackle the Deccan affairs. His first step in this direction was to checkmate and entrap the rebel prince Akbar who had taken asylum at Sambhaji's. This scheme failed entirely and the prince escaped to Persia. The Emperor thereafter rushed two columns of his army under his other sons, Azam and Moazzam. The former had to storm the Maratha strongholds of Salher which lay to the North of Konkan and the latter was asked to proceed towards Ram Dara which was situated in the South. But, unfortunately, both the expeditions failed due to some adverse circumstances and mismanagement of military operations ending in a heavy loss of men and material. The armies were called back, and except for minor skirmishes which continued for a year, no major operation was undertaken. It appears that this period was mainly occupied with the assessment of political situation and preparation of an effective campaign. It included no immediate action against the Deccan Sultanates but, on the contrary, the Emperor had invoked the co-operation of the Deccan kings against the Marathas. The Adil Shahi

general, Syed Makhdoom Sharza Khan had already received a letter from the Emperor to that effect. [1] During the period of two years the Emperor fully realized that the Deccan kings were in league with the Marathas and were seeking for the Maratha alliance for their own security. They extended their helping hand to the Marathas in the same spirit as they did to the Nizam Shahs. The Emperor, therefore, changed his mind and decided to eliminate the Deccan Sultanates before he diverted his attention to the Maratha power. A strong army under prince Azam was therefore despatched to Bijapur in 1684 (1096) and another column under Moazzam was rushed to Golcunda. The motives behind the Golcunda campaign were economic as well as political. Golcunda was a very rich state. Mohd. Saeed, the deposed Meer Jumla of Golcunda had disclosed the secrets of her treasures and had enticed the Emperor to sweep the board. In addition to the annual tributes, the Emperors had extorted large quantities of gold and jewels from the kingdom. The fabulous wealth of the kingdom was, as a matter of fact, a constant source of temptation and conflict and the kingdom was frequently forced to supply costly jewels and elephants. Besides the political grievances that had recently provoked the Imperial government, two more factors were held to be particularly grave : the one was ascendancy of Akkanna and Madanna in the state who, according to the Mughal version were tyrannical to the Muslim community and the other was the friendly attitude of the kingdom towards Sambhaji.[2] When Bijapur was invaded in 1685, Abul Hasan was warned against his alignment with the sister kingdom;[3] and

1—Zubairi, Basateen, p. 520.

2—Khafi Khan, Vol. II, pp. 292-293.

3—Zubairi, p. 533.

Bahramand Khan was appointed to watch the movements of Golcunda and to see that no military aid was despatched to Bijapur. Abul Hasan, however, stuck to his old policy because he was convinced that the future existence of Golcunda was closely linked up with that of Bijapur and to quote Fryer, Golcunda was absolutely dependant on Bijapur.[1] That was the reason why the Emperor decided to put an end to Bijapur before he took an action against Golcunda. Abul Hasan lost no time in despatching an auxiliary force under Murari Rao for the help of the Adil Shahi kingdom. Sikander Adil Shah also, on his own initiative, had appealed to Golcunda for urgent help in the pressing need. But the Golcunda army was intercepted by Bahadur Khan and Bahramad Khan who were posted on the borders for that purpose. Abul Hasan was not disappointed by this interruption and he continued his efforts. He despatched another reinforcement under Khalilullah Khan, the famous general of Golcunda. The second expedition also failed to reach the destination. Abul Hasan's letters that revealed his military intentions of reinforcing Bijapur were on that occassion, also intercepted by the Mughal officers and were handed over to the Emperor. The Golcunda envoys, Mohammad Masoom and Mohd. Jafar who were accredited to convey the king's respect to the Emperor at Burhanpur were, in compliance with the Emperor's order, detained and taken into custody by Ehtemam Khan, the Commissioner of Police and the letters from Golcunda that were addressed to the said envoys were censored. The purport of the latter was that "they (Emperor) enjoy an exalted position which we have respected so far, but now they have taken undue advantage of the minority of the orphan child, Sikander and laid siege to

1—Fryer, Vol. II, p. 51.

Bijapur, putting the kingdom to severe hardships and therefore it is imperative that Sambhaji and his military hoardes should rush to the assistance of the helpless king and we, from the otherside, would manage to despatch a mighty cavalry of forty thousand horses under Khalilullah Khan. We shall see how they (the Emperor) manage to withstand the offensive launched from various directions. The envoys who are detained at the police station need not be disheartened. Adequate measures will shortly be adopted to redress their grievances." [1] The contents of the letter were highly provo-

1—Saqui, Alamgiri, p. 260; Zubairi, p. 547.

ایشاں بزرگ اند- تاحال پاس مراسم بزرگ داشت
نمودیم - حالانکہ ایشاں سکندررا بنبیم و ناتوان
دانستہ بیجاپور را محاصرہ نمودہ کار او تنگ
آوردہ اند - واجب آمد کہ سوائے جمعیت موفور
بیجاپور راجہ سنبہا از طرفے باقشون از شمار
افزوں جہت کومک آں بیکس کمر سعی بہ بندند -
وما بہ سرداری خلیل اللہ خاں پلنگ حملہ چہل
ھزار سوار مستعد پیکار تعین نمایم و می بینیم کہ
ایشاں کدام طرف را مقابلت و مقاومت
خواھند کرد - آنہارا کہ پیش چبوترۂ کوتوالی
فرود آوردہ اند ازیں معنی خستہ خاطر نہ شوند-
نزدیک است کہ تدارک بہ ظہور آید "-

Zubairi does not give the full text of the letters but refers to the confidential letters which passed between Abul Hasan and **Sikander.**

cative and the Emperor, in reply, uttered harsh and indecent words. "We had postponed the punishment of this sugar-hawker and juggler to a later date but as the hen now cackles we cannot afford to put the matter off any longer." [1] Despite the preoccupation of the Imperial forces in Bijapur, the Emperor felt it imperative to rush an expedition to Golcunda under Moazzam and therefore Bahadur was ordered to leave his station to join the prince. The expedition was led by Safdar Khan, Etequad Khan, Multafit Khan, Syed Abdullah Baraha, Jan Nisar Khan and other generals.[2] The Mughal army camped at Malkhed which formed the Northern boundary of the Kingdom.

It had been the considered policy of the kingdom to maintain friendly relations with the neighbouring powers, especially the Mughals, and avoid bloodshed to her utmost capacity. That was the reason why Abul Hasan hastened to send some presents, consisting of jewels and elephants, to the Emperor immediately after the latter arrived at Burhanpur and commissioned his two envoys to wait on him when the Emperor moved to Sholapur to watch the progress of the Bijapur war. But, at the same time, the Golcunda king did not neglect his duty of tightening up the security measures for the defence of his kingdom. He had made elaborate preparations for defence. He secured a good supply of ammunition and replaced some of the civil and military officers

1—Abu Turab, Hadiqua, p. 369; Saqui, Alamgiri, p. 261.

ما کو شمالی این یک چینی فروش مبهوت باز پلنگ نواز را موقوف داشتم بودیم حالا کہ مادہ خروس ہم بانگ آمد جائے توقف نہ نماند —

2—Saqui, p. 260; Khafi Khan, Vol. II, p. 292.

whom he considered to be more reliable and competent. The king and his Minister, Madanna inspected the military posts of Strategic importance in 1679 (1090). They stayed at Bezwada and Kondapalli for many days to see that the forts of Kondapalli and Kondaveru were properly repaired and fully equipped with arms and ammunition. The former was so strongly rebuilt that it became possible to transfer the central treasury in case of a Mughal invasion and the latter too was equally repaired and manned by two thousand troops to meet every eventuality. In peace-time, the fort was usually manned by 1200 troops only. The Warangal Fort was no exception. It must have received their earnest attention in common with the Eastern strongholds. The English Company was ordered to supply gun powder, worth 12,000 huns and lead weighing 25 kandi. The administration and control of the Karnatak Province was also tightened up and military operations were undertaken wherever they were deemed necessary. In 1684 (1096), Lingappa had marched to the township of Chaknaikanpalli and, by force of arms, occupied it, together with its adjacement territory. Not only the township was reoccupied but also the territories that had passed away from Golcunda owing to the mismanagement of Mohammed Ibraheem were also annexed. The central machinery was overhauled with necessary replacements and transfer of top-ranking officials. The king called at the minister's house in 1681 (1093) and gave detailed directions to him. Mohd. Ibraheem who held the post of Majumdar was replaced by Akkanna. The latter, after handing over the charge of Karnatak to Lingappa, took up the new appointment. But Mohd. Ibraheem who was degraded to the lower post of Sarkhail was extremely displeased and had subsequently joined the Mughal camp after the battle of Malkhed. Akkanna looked after the domestic

affairs in the capacity of the Commander-in-Chief as well as that of the Home Minister, whereas Madanna attended to foreign affairs which called for earnest attention in the tense atmosphere resulting from the Mughal invasion. The North-Western boundaries were also properly garrisoned under the supervision of the able general like Mohd. Ibraheem who had routed Delare Khan and Bahlol Khan in 1677 (1088) and again in 1685 (1096); he marched to Malkhed with Shaik Minhaj and Rustum Rao to meet the Mughal offensive. Sambhaji was invited to Golcunda and was granted a subsidy as a recompense for his promised help.

Khan-i-Jehan Kokaltash marched to Malkhed, three miles ahead of prince Moazzam. The vanguard under Jan Nisar Khan was ahead of the main army, and was opposed at a distance of 8 miles to the East of Malkhed by the Qutub Shahi contingent which had already occupied the place. The over-whelming number of the latter forced the Mughals to seek shelter in a nearby fortress. Now, they confronted the Deccani forces and sustained a defeat in the first encounter and, instead of fighting with the enemy, tried to appease the latter by offering favourable terms for a truce, namely the dismissal of Akkanna and Madanna, the surrender of Serum and Ramgeer territories to the Mughals and prompt payment of outstanding dues. The offer was turned down by the Deccani generals who pushed forward and overwhelmed the Mughals to the extent that the Mughal generals, Khan-i- Jahan, Himmat Khan, Syed Abdullah Bariha were surrounded and encircled from all sides, without any outlet for escape. Thus a total disaster appeared to be imminent but it so happened that a huge elephant with a heavy chain of four maunds weight in his tusk created a panic in the whole field. The Qutub Shahi soldiers were dispersed and

flung back, leaving many horses and elephants in the field. The Mughal camp was jubilant on this unforeseen success and beat the drums of victory. Jan Nisar Khan seized Gaddi Serum. In the meantime, a strong reinforcement of ten thousand troops which comprised Madanna's own contingent, [1] arrived on the spot and challenged the Mughal legion that was commanded by Jan Nisar Khan. There was a sharp encounter, with heavy loss of life on both the sides. On the 4th day, a pitched battle was fought and the notable Mughal minerals like Himmat Khan, Syed Abdullah and Raja Man Singh were severely wounded. But, subsequently, the battle took a new turn and ended in a defeat to the Deccan army which ultimately took to flight. Thanks to the complacancy on the part of the Mughal commanders, the Deccan army was not chased. Moazzam and Khan-i-Jahan imprudently did not press their advance. They were further deterred by heavy downpour. The Emperor who, according to Khafi Khan, had already entertained some misgivings about Moazzam and Khan-iJehan, was grieved to learn the news of the dilatory mode and wrote a strong note, reproaching them for their negligence of duty.[2]

Moazzam and Bahadur Khan who felt discontented with the reproachful note were reluctant to resume hostilities, but they had to comply with the Imperial order. The prince called his generals, Khan and Syed Abdullah for consultation. The former took a negative stand and the latter proposed an immediate action in compliance with the Imperial order. Syed Abdullah Offered to take the place of Bahadur Khan and commanded the Vanguard.[3] As the matter was

1—Khafi Khan, Vol. II, p. 298.
2—ibid. p. 399.
3—Khafi Khan, Vol. II, p. 299.

finally decided, the prince before he resorted to military action, communicated a message to Mohd. Ibraheem Khaleelullah Khan, expressing his willingness to desist from war and to recommend Abul Hasan to the Emperor for pardon, if he agreed to cede the disputed districts, namely Serum, Kolur, Urki and Malkhed to the Empire.[1] The message was conveyed to Ibraheem through Zamarud, the palace steward. Ibraheem Khaleelullah Khan was partially inclined to accept the terms but Shaikh Minhaj and Rustum Rao spurned the overtures with the strong words that the Serum fort and its boundaries were guarded on the point of their swords and lances.[2] The Deccani soldiers began to throw fire balls, some of which even hit the tent of the prince and overturned the tray which contained royal tiffin. The Prince was disturbed, and got annoyed and gave orders for an immediate assault. Shah Alam Moazam commanded the central wing himself along with Raja Man Singh and Abul Mukarem, whereas Bahadur Khan and the younger prince, Moizuddin were given the charge of the vanguard, with Jafar Khan and Himmat Khan to assist them. The Qutub Shahi generals, on the other side, who were further strengthened by fresh reinforcement from Golcunda, prepared a new plan of warfare in keeping with the gravity of the situation. They pushed their camp-followers to the right at a distance of nearly 6 to 8 miles and hid some of their guns in pits, and a few others they buried in sand so as to camouflage them and keep them out of enemy's reach. A division of the army was arrayed before the Mughal vanguard and other division commanded by

1—Khafi Khan, Vol. II, p. 301.

قلعہ سرحد سیرم بر سر نوک شمشیر و سنان نیزہ ھائے

2— ibid, 302. ما وابستہ است

Shaikh Minhaj and Rustum Rao were so placed as to oppose the Mughal centre under Shah Alam and Bahadur Khan. And then they launched a vigorous attack on the Mughal army.[1] With all this preparation, they were still no match to the Imperial force and, therefore, they suffered a reverse and were forced to retreat towards Serum. There was a lull for some time. Next day, they faced the enemy again and fought till sun-set, but met with the same fate. Realising their inability to fight the Imperialists on the open field, they challenged them to duel combats, because the Deccani soldiers were well-versed in the art of swordsmanship. Their suggestion was turned down by the Mughal commander. The prince told them in reply that they were accustomed to fight on the back of elephants alone.[2] This was the end of the battle. Besides the bitter disagreement which divided the foreign and the Deccani elements of the Qutub Shahi army, a feeling of despondency crept into the Qutub Shahi camp immediately after the skirmish. They suddenly left the field the very next morning and betook themselves to Golcunda. The Mughals rejoiced at the unexpected victory and pursued the enemy till Shah Alam (Moazzam) arrived at Gagan Pahad via Dhulpeth and occupied the Gosha Mahal palace. To add fuel to the fire, Ibrahim Khaleelullah Khan left his own camp and his defection formed another discomfiture that the kingdom suffered after the battle of Malkhed. The Qutub Shahi troops, on reaching Hyderabad, were shocked to hear the news that Khalillullah Khan had left the Qutub Shahi camp and joined the Mughal service. The reason for this defection seems to be that the retreating soldiers had put

1—Khafi Khan, Vol. II, pp. 302-203.

2—Ibid, 304-305.

the blame entirely on Ibraheem, and Madanna endorsed the view. The king who had been grieved by the defeat, was determined to put the commander in chains. But, Ibraheem escaped the danger and joined the Mughal camp on 8th October 1685 (1097). The Mughal rulers who were on the look-out for such opportunities were glad to welcome him.[1] Ibrahim was promptly enrolled in the Mughal peerage with the high sounding title of Mahabat Khan, with six-thousand-rank and four-thousand-horse.[2]

The defeat of Golcunda at Malkhed, combined with the defection of Ibraheem caused an embarrassing situation. It annoyed the king to the extent that he became suspicious of almost all the dignitaries of the State. Shaikh Minhaj gave a secret warning to the king not to rely even on Madanna, who, according to the Shaik's version, was a probable accomplice in the plot. Ibrahim was after all a henchman of the former. Abul Hasan was so much perturbed by the advent of the Mughal army and the disloyalty of his officers that, according to Khafi Khan, he had lost his peace of mind[3] and found no time to consult his ministers about his future plan. He left the city of Hyderabad with his entourage and precious possessions of gold and jewels and shut himself up in the fort of Golcunda quite against the advice of Madanna who had suggested Warangal in preference to the former. He hurried to the fort in the dead of night. It was but natural that this hasty and unwise step of the king dislocated the entire machinery of law and order and left the city to the mercy of freebooters who, in common with the Mughal soldiers, indulged freely in plunder

1—Khafi Khan, Vol. II, pp. 305-306.
2—Saqui, Alamgiri, p. 269.
3—Khafi Khan, Vol. II, p. 306.

and pillage. Not only the peaceful citizens were robbed of their precious belongings but also the royal palaces were subjected to loot and plunder. It was really a heart-rending spectacle that thousands of peaceful citizens, men, women and children fled pell-mell in various directions to save their life and honour. Parda ladies found no time to conceal themselves in veil. Most of them were either murdered or man-handled and houses were set on fire. Household furniture, utensils, clothing, articles of gold and silver, jewellery and brocade lay scattered on the streets. The house-holders found no time and were afforded no means of transport to carry their belongings. Rich carpets, spread in big halls of the palaces were cut to pieces so that they might be easily taken away. In short, to quote Khafi Khan, "the calamity presented a spectacle to be as grim and gloomy as it were a doomsday".[1] It was the greatest calamity which had ever befallen to the unfortunate city of Hyderabad. When Shah Alam received the report, he tried to post his generals to stop the pillage but it was very late. Rich property to the estimate of 4 to 5 crores was already plundered and carried away. Khan-i-Jahan who was posted to restore law and order failed to stop the disorder which continued for some days.

Ibraheem was not the only officer who threw off his allegiance but he was followed by more renegades who deserted their kingdom and joined Mughal service. Daood and Mohd. Taqui followed the suit. Shareeful Mulk and Zainul Abedeen were the next to desert the kingdom. The latter two, Shareeful Mulk and Zainul Abedeen were related to the

1—Khafi Khan, Vol. II, p. 306.
عجیب هنگامهٔ قیامت و رستخیز غریب برپا گردید

king. When Mohammed Ibraheem was ushered in the presence of the Emperor he was awarded 41 horses, elephants and five thousand huns. Shareeful Mulk was invested with three-thousand rank and three-hundred horse, and Mohamed Taqui and Dawood with two-thousand rank and two hundred-horse.[1] Zainul Abedeen was honoured with royal investiture.[2] The defection of these dignitaries caused an embarrasing situation indeed and, consequently, the king was forced to negotiate for peace. He appealed to the Mughal prince in the most humble manner for mercy and toleration and expressed his willingness for any terms the Mughals could dictate. The prince who was greatly moved by the sack of Hyderabad acquiesced to the overtures and imposed the following terms for peace:--

1. The payment of one crore and twenty lacs huns towards the settlement of the past arrears.
2. The annual payment of two lacs huns every year as the annual tribute.
3. The cession of Serum and Malkhed to the Mughal Empire, and
4. The removal of Akkanna and Madanna who were regarded by the Mughals as the most undesirable and detestable characters.

The terms were approved by both the parties and were forwarded to the Emperor through Meer Hashim for confirmation. The Emperor was not in favour of the treaty and was planning otherwise. He accorded his assent with some mental reservations and raised the ranks of the prince and

1—Saqui, Alamgiri, p. 269.

2—Ibid, p. 272.

his military associates as a measure of diplomacy. The status of Shah Alam was raised to ten-thousand. The Mughal government in general was so pleased by the political and material gains and the humiliation of Golcunda that they regarded it as a glorious victory amounting to a conquest. Mirza Mohammed Nimat Khan composed the following couplets to grace the occasion and presented them to the Emperor.[1]

از فضرت پادشاه غازی - گردید دل جهانیان شاد
آمد به قلم حساب تاریخ - شد فتح به جنگ حیدراباد

The unfailing solicitude of the victorious Emperor
Has conferred happiness upon the subjects of the Empire.

And, lo! suddenly a chronogram struck my mind,
The war has set seal to the conquest of Hyderabad.

Shah Alam stayed at Hyderabad for a few months to see that the terms of the treaty were fully implemented. Yet the disturbed conditions which followed the siege and plunder of the city were too perplexing for the Qutub Shahi government to proceed with the day-to-day administration and fulfil the terms. It was very difficult to realize money and pay the annual tribute and arrears in the adverse circumstances. Moreover, the presence of the Mughal army in the capital further aggravated feelings and worsened the gravity of the situation. Abul Hasan therefore requested the Mughal prince to shift his camp to a distant place, and therefore the latter moved his camp to Koheer which lies at nearly 70 miles to the North-West of Hyderabad. There is no doubt that it enabled the government to collect money and pay the

1—Saqui, Alamgiri, p. 268.

dues, but the dismissal of Akanna and Madanna was a great stumbling block and the king was loath to remove them from office. What annoyed the king was that the Hindu ministers were equally hated by the Muslim subjects and the ladies of the harem. They held the ministers solely responsible for the sack and devastation of the city.[1] As the dismissal of the ministers was delayed day by day and the king seemed to be wavering in his decision, the interested parties who bore extreme rancour to the ministers, became restive and decided to resort to violent measures. A secret plot to murder the ministers was hatched forthwith, by a number of state officers, in-mates of the palace, especially Saruma and Jani Begum, the widows of the late king. The party was reinforced by those who were mercilessly treated by the ministers. Shaik Minhaj who was an inveterate foe of the Hindu ministers played a leading part in hatching and implementing the dreadful conspiracy. A particular day was fixed for the final blow and the conspirators lay in wait at a certain night, when Akkanna and Madanna, on their way back to home from the palace, were ambushed in a Golcunda thoroughfare. They were assaulted and murdered by Jamsheed, the palace steward, and his accomplices. This gruesome outrage occurred on 26th March (1st Jamadi) 1686 (1097). The armed guard which escorted the minister was already won over by heavy bribe. Rustum Rao who happened to be in his house at this time, was put to death by the miscreants who had entered his house and dealt the fatal blow. Not

1—Khafi Khan, Vol. II, p. 308.

نظربرین کہ تمام خرابی حیدرآباد و لشکرکشی و
مسلمان کشی از نحوست هردو برادر رجال سیرت و بد
سرشت هست تنگ آمده بودند ـ

only the houses of these ministers were ransacked but also some Hindu temples were ravaged and Brahmins were belaboured. But for the timely intervention of the government, the conflagration threatened a general massacre of the Hindu community. The inmates of the harem and noblemen who were responsible for this outrage, managed to send the severed heads of the ministers to Shah Alam, who on his part, transmitted them to the Emperor through the Mughal officer, Bahadur Ali Khan.[1] According to Hurbert, the Dutch traveller, the bodies of the ministers were dragged on the street and the head of Madanna was sent to the Emperor and that of Akanna was trampelled underneath the feet of an elephant.[2] Mohammed Saqui and Manucci both mistakenly attribute this heinous act to Abul Hasan, but, as a matter of fact, he was in the dark till the last moment.[3]

1—Khafi Khan, Vol. II, p. 308; Saqui, p. 272.

2—J. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, quoted from Madras Annual Report on Archaeology Vol. IV, p. 344.

3—Mohammed Saqui says that Abul Hasan is responsible for the murder of Akanna and Madanna. He cut the head of the ministers and sent it to the Emperor as a proof of his allegiance and loyalty. Saqui, Alamgiri p. 272. And Manucci says that Abul Hasan sued for peace after Shah Alam occupied the city of Hyderabad and the prince promptly recommended the overtures to the Emperor with the request to accept it on the plea that the annexation of the kingdom was a long-range undertaking. He also pleaded Abul Hasan as innocent and hurled all responsibilities on the Hindu ministers as criminals. The prince guaranteed the fulfilment of the treaty and held himself responsible for it on behalf of Abul Hasan. The Emperor, in reply, sought elephants, jewels, weapons, money and a solemn pledge from the Golcunda king that he would not extend his help to Bijapur in future. On this, Shah Alam negotiated with Abul Hasan who

(Continued on page 271)

Although the Emperor was very reluctant in according his sanction to the peace treaty, yet he was highly gratified to receive the report of the murder because he was rest assured that the Mughal interest would no longer be jeopardised in Golcunda in future. This is the reason why the Imperial troops were withdrawn from the Qutub Shahi territories and Shah Alam was called to Sholapur where he arrived on 7th June 1696.[1] The prince was followed by a Qutub Shahi envoy who had an audience with the Emperor and presented hundred elephants and nazars.[2]

(*Continued from page 270*)

was still in the fort, for peace terms which the latter accepted in toto. The 1st act Abul Hasan did after the peace treaty was concluded, was to murder Akanna and Madanna and threw their heads in the ditch below. Manucci Vol. II, p. 392-394. Both the statements seem to be baseless and not corroborated by local authorities.

1—Khafi Khan, Vol. II, p. 316.

2—Saqui, p. 275.

CHAPTER XVII

THE FALL OF GOLCUNDA

The unfortunate treaty that was concluded between Shah Alam and Abul Hasan reflects upon the glory of the Mughal Empire. It had no moral basis but, on the contrary, it was intended to delude the Qutub Shahi government and rob it of its legitimate rights and sinews of war. While it proved to be the source of immense benefits to the Empire, it brought about untold sufferings to Golcunda. The Mughal Empire gained everything that it had desired: the arrears of annual tribute, the exorbitant charges of indemnity and the rich districts of Malkhed and Serum which were long coveted may be regarded as the summum bonum gained through the said treaty. The Hindu ministers who were regarded as a constant source of trouble to the Imperialists were now no more. The Emperor could, therefore, freely, shape his course. He not only ordered the withdrawal of the Imperial troops from Golcunda, but was now able to concentrate upon the conquest of Bijapur. But, despite all the political and material gains that accrued from the treaty, the Emperor cared little to fulfil his own obligations. The moment the Emperor was relieved of the Bijapur war, the treaty was torn to pieces. Golcunda, consequently, suffered heavy losses and had the worst reverses, more so because she had no inkling of the evil designs which lurked behind it. Golcunda honestly believed that the treaty was

concluded in good faith and that it would be respected by the Imperial government in the same manner as it was done by herself. It was probably for this reason that the ladies of the harem who were responsible for the murder of Akkanna and Madanna, had managed to despatch the heads of the two ministers to the Emperor with a forlorn hope that he would not venture any hostile action against Golcunda. But it was all in vain. The treaty was concluded as a temporary measure just to gain some breathing space till such time as the Bijapur war was won. Shah Alam and Bahadur Khan, for that matter, were even repremanded in secret for their mishandling of the situation and betraying the Imperial cause,[1] for the treaty was held to be a source of disparagement to the original and expected plan. Saadat Khan was therefore sent to Golcunda as a Hajib to execute the terms of the treaty. The Hajib was followed by his brother, Mirza Mohd., entitled Nimat Khan, whose mission was apparently peaceful but, as a matter of fact, he was enjoined to entangle Abul Hasan in a provocative discussion leading to war. Unluckily, as Khafi Khan says, Abul Hasan was in no way inferior to the Mughal emissary either in literary or in intellectual attainments and he met every argument ably and convinced his opponent on each and every point.[2]

Subsequently, when Aurangzeb arrived at a place that was close to Gōlcunda on 28th January 1686, 24 Rabi 1 (1097 A.H.), Abul Hasan Qutub Shah appealed to him for peace and conciliation in the humblest possible terms. But the Emperor hated him and regarded him as a villain, capable of any evil, and he would therefore listen to no overtures. The petition submitted by Abul Hasan was rejected outright with

1—Khafi Khan, Vol. II, p. 313.
2—Khafi Khan, Vol. II, pp. 294-295.

the following endorsement embodied in a firman. Khaf Khan gives the full text of the firman which was, on the one hand, deliberately worded to stigmatize Abul Hasan as being entirely unworthy of the position he had so unfortunately held, and on the other, meant to dispel the doubts of the Muslim community in general which eagerly awaited some action on the part of the Mughal militia. The said firman reads as follows :

"Though it is not possible to narrate in full the heinous acts of the perverted wretch, yet a few out of the hundreds and a handful out of the heap can be mentioned here. First of all, he entrusted all the powers of the state to an infidel, a scoundrel and a tyrant (Madanna) and subjected the holy descendants, religiouus heads and scholars to his despotism. (Secondly) he gave free licence to the public to revel in immoral and irreligious practices profusely and he himself, being intoxicated with the sense of his royal authority and wealth, is given to all sorts of excesses day and night, and further more, he never cares to distinguish heterodoxy from justice and vice and immorality from piety. (Thirdly) he is persisting in his allegiance to the militant unbelievers and is disobeying thereby Divine injunctions and especially the prohibition that no help should be given to the enemies of Islam, which is enjoined by a clear verse of the Holy Scriptures, with the result that he is accused by both people and God. (Fourthly) he turned a deaf ear to the instructive firmans that were issued through persons well-versed in court etiquette and well acquainted with Imperial policy, and with an open defiance, advanced a sum of one lac huns to the scoundrel, Sambha (Sambhaji). And, therefore, it is an absurd notion and a hollow pretence for him to hope for a

salavation hour, with all self-conceit and magalomania and with all his immoral acts and hateful character."[1]

To analyse the firman, Abul Hasan was charged with the following crimes : 1. He appointed Madanna, an unbeliever, as the Dewan of the State. 2. He subjected the Muslim community including the holy people to Madanna's non-Islamic rule. 3. He showed perfect indifference to the fact that owing to Madanna's rule, Islamic laws were suspended and Hindu Laws were enforced instead; 4. He tolerated all sorts of vices and immoralities in the State; 5. He was given to debauchery day and night. 6. He was in league with the Marathas.

Foiled in his attempts for peace, Abul Hasan resorted to war and threw himself heart and soul for the defence of the kingdom. Sharza Khan, Shaik Minhaj and Abdur Razzak Lari alias Mustafa Khan, were charged with the duties of offence and defence. These generals were advised to capture the Emperor alive with all marks of respect due to his position in case the Imperialists were forced to surrender.[2] The Mughals laid siege to the fort on 28th January 1687 with elaborate preparations and large military equipments. The besiegers were strengthened by 1900 musketeers, 14,000 Infantry and 106 guns of which 17 were heavy and capable of dishcharging heavy balls with varied degrees of weight ranging from 4 to 40 seers. They had in possession as much as 5809 maunds of gun powder, 1244 balls and 37500 sacks that were meant for filling up ditches or for raising barricades. Saf Shikan Khan, the Persian, was placed in charge of the artillery. Feroz Jung was appointed Commander-in-Chief and Shah Alam acted as his assistant. Khaja Abid, Feroz Jung's

1—Khafi Khan, Vol. II, p. 328.
2—Khafi Khan, Vol. II, pp. 328-329.

father, was one of the prominent officers who took active part in the siege operations.

The minor skirmishes which commenced from the beginning of the siege developed into a sanguine war on 30th and 31st January, as a result of which prominent officers like Abul Makarim and Syed Abdullah received serious injuries and Rajput generals like Kishwar Singh and Kishen Singh died on the battle-field. The Imperialists had to face not only constant fire emanating from the fort but had also to encounter a Golcunda legion, forty thousand strong, which was posted outside the fort to harrass the Mughals. Khaja Abid was hit by a ball on the shoulder to which he succumbed.[1] The external troops under Shaik Nizam and Mustafa Khan so swiftly launched their attacks that the Mughals suffered the severest hardships and lost many soldiers and, according to Khafi Khan, the loss of the Mughal soldiers had become a matter of daily occurrence.[2] Shah Alam again intervened and made a second attempt to effect conciliation between the two parties. But, his exchange of letters with Abul Hasan poured out the vails of the Emperor's wrath who had already doubted his son's fidility and consequently the prince and his wife were put into confinement. Now the burden of offence and defence fell on the shoulders of Feroz Jung with Meer Alash, Safshikan Khan and Ruhullah Khan Bekshee to serve under him. On the 16th of May (14th Rajab), Feroz Jung arranged to have a night attack, that is, he tried to scale the walls of the fort by means of ladders and ropes lowered from above, but the attack ended in a sorry failure. The Golcunda garrision which was at this time fast asleep was startled by the barking of a dog and, quickened to action, it rushed to

1—Saqui, pp. 289-290.
2—Khafi Khan, Vol. II, p. 342.

overthrow the climbers. The ropes were cut down and the ladders were thrown away with the result that two Mughals died instantly and more were struck by the charge of muskets. Emboldened by this victory, the Golcunda soldiers made a rally on the Mughal artillery and slained many a gunner. The dog to whose barking the garrison owed it victory was honoured by the title of Feroz Jung and a golden chain was fastened round his neck.[1]

As the siege dragged on, the Imperialists had to face many odds and hardships. The severe drought which prevailed in the country owing to the failure of monsoon coupled with the Maratha raids was a great handicap to the supply of food-stuff. The Marathas, under the leadership of Sambhaji, the Golcunda ally, resorted to scorched earth and devastation and laid waste the country. The onset of the monsoon in June after two years' drought, added fresh troubles to the Imperialist army. There was an incessant downpour causing total dislocation of all communications. It not only hindered the supply of foodstuff but also destroyed the pedestals and the barricades of the artillery to the utter discomfiture of the besiegers. The Golcunda garrison was prompt enough to take advantage of the frustration and made a fresh raid on the artillery. They not only put nails in the barrels of the guns and carried away a large quantity of gun powder but also launched a sudden attack on a party of certain Mughal officers, namely Jamsheed Khan, Saleem Khan, Saf Shikan Khan, Aziz Khan and Sarbarah Khan. The first named had already taken to heels but Saleem Khan and Saf Shikan Khan hid themselves in nearby pits and Aziz Khan and Sarbarah Khan besmeared their faces with mud in order to avert the danger. They were taken prisoners and

1—Aali, Nimat Khan, pp. 6-7; Khafi Khan, Vol. II, p. 342.

brought into the fort though they received noble treatment inside. [1] But no discomfiture of any kind ever daunted the courage of the aged Emperor, who was bent upon the dismemberment of the kingdom. He was not even moved by certain legal pronouncements in this respect. The hostile action of the Mughals against the Muslim kingdoms of Golcunda and Bijapur was not justified by Islamic Law. Its validity was challenged by Muslim divines who expressed their opinion boldly. When the question as to the validity of the Bijapur and Golcunda expeditions was put to Qazi Shaikhul Islam, he frankly told the Emperor that the action against Abul Hasan, who was a Muslim, was in no way warranted by Islamic law. His honest pronouncement incurred the displeasure of the Emperor and, as a consequence thereof, he had to leave for Hijaz for Haj pilgrimage. Qazi Abdullah who had succeeded Shaikhul Islam endorsed the same view and he was degraded and deprived of Imperial audiance.[2]

However, after more than four months had elapsed since the commencement of the siege, Abul Hasan tried a second chance and made a further appeal for peace and pardon in the following terms :—

"When you succeed to annex the fort, its administration may kindly be entrusted to me in preference to others, for the country has suffered many a mishap and it requires untiring efforts for its improvement. You cannot expect from others the same personal attachment as I feel for it. I promise that I will advance large sums of money for this act of kindness. Whenever you visit the country, I will offer Rs.

1—Khafi Khan, Vol. II, p. 347.
Aali, Nimat Khan, p. 54.

2–Khafi Khan, Vol, II, p. 343; Aali, Nimat Khan, p. 12.

one crore at every stage of your journey and I will also pay on extra sum of one core as an indemnity and Nazar for the raids hitherto made on the fort. What has made me to appeal to you in this way is the fact that poor Muslims are being slaughtered and their families are bereaved without the least justification."

The appeal evoked no generous response and on the contrary, as reported by Khafi Khan, the Emperor was rather irritated and burst into fury and uttered indecent and improper words in reply. "If Abul Hasan really feels himself bound to us," said the Emperor, "he ought to have presented himself hand-folded before us, or he would be brought to us in chains." [1]

But with all these words and deeds, the Emperor was very anxious and impatient about the outcome of the siege which foreshadowed utter defeat and a loss of Imperial prestige. Since then, the siege was tightened up and guns were mounted on improvised platforms all around and were directed towards the fort. Yet, no tangible result came out of it. Every attempt to mine and explode the rampart was foiled by the vigility of the fort garrison and the high sense of duty on the part of Abdur Razzak Lari. A fresh attempt to explode the rampart on 20th June was equally frustrated. The Golcunda soldiers took away large quantity of gun. powder from the mine and turned the direction of the blast towards the besiegers, as a result of which the explosion proved more injurious to the Mughals than to the Deccanees. Eleven hundred Mughal soldiers were struck by the blast and died instantly and many were injured. This unexpected calamity caused an uproar in the Mughal camp. The rampart

1—Khafi Khan, Vol. II, pp. 349-350.

remained intact with no danger whatsoever. To make matters worse, the Golcunda soldiers promptly took advantage of the consternation of the Mughal camp. They not only launched a raid and put many Mughal soldiers to sword but also recovered the ditches which were occupied by the Mughal soldiers. A fresh attempt for explosion met with the same fate. It took a toll of one thousand soldiers more. Even Feroz Jung who was the chief architect of the siege as also his colleagues, Rustum Khan, Dilpat Rao Bundela, sustained ghastly wounds and a number of officers died.[1] Although the aged Emperor visited the rampart to encourage the soldiers and expedite the siege operations, yet the capture of the fort seemed as remote as ever before.[2] Not only the Mughal guns were swiftly carried away to the surprise of the Mughals, but also the showers of bullets frustrated the besiegers at every step. What inspired the Golcunda soldiers to duty was the spirit and the undaunted courage of the Golcunda king who, according to Khafi Khan, remained steadfast and never lost his heart.[3] Following in the footsteps of their master, the soldiers fought to the last. These were the circumstances which led to the feeling of despondency and despair in the Mughal camp and the Mughals were consequently contemplating to lift the siege.[4]

To make matters worse, incessant rain poured in torrents. The fort garrison was safe in the shelter whereas the besiegers who were exposed to rain were entirely unnerved. The

1—Khafi Khan, Vol. II, pp. 352-53-54.

2—Khafi Khan, Vol. II, p. 354; Aali, Nimat Khan, p. 12.

3—ibid 354.

ابوالحسن سنگ دل دل از حصار گولکنده بر نمی کند

4—ibid 337.

rivers and rivulets which over flowed their banks, flooded the entire area of the siege operation to the extent that most of the Mughal guns were washed away. It favoured the Golcunda soldiers all the more to make their furious raids and run away with guns despite stiff resistance from Kam Baksh the prince and Asad Khan the prime minister. A fresh attempt to explode a mine in July was equally thwarted to the utter discomfiture of the Imperialists. The Emperor who had proceeded to Feroz Jung's tent to invigorate the siege operation retreated to his camp in despair.[1] Although the Mughal army was strengthened by new reinforcements which had then arrived under Prince Azam and Ruhullah Khan, and Shaik Minhaj, the Golcunda general had deserted to join the Mughal camp and was favoured by seven thousand-rank and the title of Taqarrub Khan, yet nothing helped the Imperial cause. The Imperial camp was severely afflicted by famine and epidemics. Hundreds of Mughal soldiers died not only of starvation and sickness, but also due to sweeping floods. The dreadful spectacle was witnessed every day that the dead bodies which lay scattered were thrown in the rivulets and washed away. Most of the Mughal soldiers lost their hearts and deserted the Mughal camp.[2] At last the Emperor resorted to a last measure of building a mud wall round the fort and erected barricades. He placed the entire siege operation under the command of Prince Azam because Feroz Jung lay wounded.[3] Even these measures ended in utter failure. In the face of these circumstances which grew adverse every day, the Imperialists were compelled to think of lifting the siege. They even sugges-

1—Saqui, p. 295.

2—Saqui, Alamgiri, p. 295; Khafi Khan, Vol. II, p. 337.

3—Saqui, Alamgiri, p. 299; Khafi Khan, Vol. II, p. 358.

ted to the Emperor to annex the kingdom and leave the fort to its fate with Abul Hasan being confined inside. A royal proclamation was therefore issued accordingly. Magistrates and revenue collectors were appointed throughout the kingdom to take over the charge of administration. Kifayat Khan and Abur Rahim were entrusted with revenue and censorship respectively. The Emperor's name was anounced in the Friday khutba and Hyderabad was officially named as 'Darul Jehad.[1]

In this way, the capture of the fort appeared to be well nigh impossible. The only course left to the Mughals was to prolong the siege till the fort garrison was reduced to straits for lack of foodstuff and ammunition. In the first place, the prolonged siege was beyond the enduring capacity of the Mughals and, secondly, the fort garrison strained every nerve to harrass the besiegers. But, unfortunately, the treachery on tne part of some Golcunda officers broke the spell at last. We know that the prominent officers of Golcunda like Ibraheem Khaleelullah Khan and Shaik Minhaj were already lured by the Mughal money and the defence of the fort was only left to the care of Abur Razzak Lari and Abdullah Khan Puni. They were also enticed by the Imperialists to join the Mughal service. The former was approached by some Imperial messengers with the tempting offer of six thousand-rank and six thousand-horse beside other honours. But the Golcunda hero, Lari, who won an immortal fame for his unswerving loyalty, tore the letter into pieces there and then and burst into passion with the words: "this war is undoubtedly a repetition of Karbala and I am confident that so long as I live I would never identify myself with the two

1—Aali, Nimat Khan, Waqai, pp. 49-68; Khafi Khan, Vol. II, p. 358.

thousand people of mean disposition who, after giving solemn pledge of fidility to the Imam, turned back and unsheathed their swords against the Martyr of Karbala himself, but I would rather associate myself with seventy two members and win an eternal honour here and beyond." [1] Abdullah Khan, on the contrary, was unable to overcome the inherent weakness of Afghan character and fell an easy prey to the Mughal trap. He entered into a shameful agreement with the Mughals to open the gate to the besiegers in the dead of night. This disloyalty and treason ultimately sealed the fate of Golcunda for ever. Had the traitor escaped the fort and joined the Mughal camp like the others, he would not have done much harm to the Qutub Shahi solidarity. It was unfortunate that he remained in the fort under the mask of loyalty and threw open the gate to the invaders on the 24th of Zikada (21st of September), as a consequence of which the entire defence collapsed within a moment.[2]

The Mughal army entered the fort through the small gate known as the Khirkee on 21st September after midnight at about 3 a.m. The prominent Mughal generals, Ruhullah Khan, Mukhtar Khan, Ranmast Khan, Saf Shiken Khan and Jan Nisar Khan entered the fort and advanced to the palace. It caused an up-roar inside the fort and drums were beaten

1—**Khafi Khan, Vol. II, p. 360.**

این جنگ بلا تشبیه بجنگ کربلا میماند - عبد الرزاق امیدوار است که تا نفس باقی است در جرگه بست و دو هزار سوار که با امام بیعت نموده آخر تیغ بر روی آن شهید کربلا کشیدند در نیاید بلکه منجمله هفتاد و تن سرخروی دنیا و آخرت حاصل نماید —

2—**Khafi Khan, Vol. II, p. 361.**

outside to announce the victory. Abdur Razzak Lari who was sleeping at the time was awakened by one of his colleagues. He sprang to his feet and equipped himself with as many arms and material as he could within the short time that was at his disposal. He jumped on his horse quickly with a sword in his hand and rushed to the scene of action with a band of twelve followers to discharge his last duty to his master. Evidently, the lonely soul of Lari could be no match to the Mughal hoard. His twelve followers were soon separated from him in the melee. To quote Khafi Khan, Lari looked "just like a drop in the ocean or a mole rivalling and defying the majesty of the sun."[1] Yet, he never lost his heart. He dashed against the Mughal odds and hurled his sword like a mad man with the cry : "so long as there is life in my body I will dedicate myself to my master, Abul Hasan." The poor man fell and became the target of infinite swords of the enemy and thus sustained a number of injuries. As many as twelve cuts were noticed on his face alone. At last, he was almost unconscious and became unable to hold his reins. His horse too which was severely wounded started bleeding profusely and with the greatest difficulty carried his master to a garden known as the Nageena Bagh and stood by the side of an old palm tree, when Abdur Razaak, reclining on a tree, dropped himself down on the ground. He lay there unnoticed for three days though he was looked for by both the friend and the foe. Next morning, however, Husaini Baig and his colleagues found him out and identified him by his horse and other belongings scattered in the garden and brought him to his residence where he was dressed and treated.[2]

1—**Khafi Khan, Vol. II, p. 362.**

2—**ibid.**

The capture of the fort by the Mughals which was like a bolt from the blue, took all the inmates by surprise and plunged them into deep sorrow. What is more important to note in this connection is the demonstration of a lofty character by Abul Hasan who remained absolutely calm and unperturbed throughout and in the presense of his captors behaved with an amazing patience which is without a parallel in history. When the heart-rending news of the entry of the Mughals spread like wild fire and every one in the fort ran helter skelter, he showed no signs of consternation. On the other hand, he got up from his bed, went to the Zanana apartment and consoled the ladies of the harem and the attendants to remain calm and be content with the decree of fate. Then he dressed himself up in royal robes as usual and occupied his throne in the Dewan Khas, waiting for the captors who were fast approaching for his arrest.[1] When some Mughal officers namely, Mukhtar Khan and Ruhullah Khan who were sent by the Emperor to arrest him, were ushered in his presence, they were surprised to see him armed with patience and seated on the royal throne with utmost sereneness as if there was nothing unusual. As they approached him, he wished them in the usual fashion and entertained them with an interesting and learned talk. He conversed so cheerfully and fluently as if nothing unusual had happened. They were equally lost in wonder when the

1—There is no truth in the statement of Ghulam Husain and Eshwar Das who say that Abul Hasan was being entertained in a singing party when the Mughal army entered the fort, (Mahnama p. 138). Eshwar Das goes a step further and says that he exhorted the singing girl to continue her performance when she stopped on account of the roar, so that he might enjoy for as much time as he could. (History of Aurangzeb by Jadunath Sarkar, Vol. IV, p. 386).

palace attendants were ordered to serve the usual breakfast. When the breakfast was served, he also invited the Mughal officers to join him and partake of his morning meal in the usual manner. They were all the more surprised when they saw that the king not only took his breakfast to his heart's content but was at the same time cheerful enough to resume conversation with the Mughal officers while at the table. Ruhullah Khan could not then suppress his curiosity. He put a question out of his inquisitiveness : "Is this the proper time for breakfast ?" asked Ruhullah Khan. "It is my usual time," replied the king. "It is true," said Ruhullah Khan, "that you have your breakfast at this time, but do you feel inclined to have it despite this tense moment." "I feel perfectly happy and composed," replied Abul Hasan, because I believe everything emanates from Divine Will and Dispensation. I have nothing to fear and worry about. It is through Divine favour that I was elevated to the royal position and it is also through divine dispensation that I have been deprived of the kingly office. I am glad that the kingdom is being entrusted to a God-fearing ruler like Alamgir Padshah."[1] Then he called for his horse and followed his captors in the midst of sobs and sighs. Men and women wept and sobbed to see their beloved king leaving the fort for ever.[2] While he got ready, he recited the couplet by Hafiz :

سر ارادت ما و آستان حضرت دوست

که هرچه بر سر ما می رود ارادت اوست

1--Khafi Khan, Vol. II, p. 365.

2--Again the author of Mahnama indulges in his usual gossip that Abul Hasan was conducted by the Mughal general, Mahabat Khan. As he passed through Fatah Darwaza, he turned towards

(Continued on page 288)

My devotion in full obeissance is bound with the threshold of the All-merciful; and whatever falls to my lot is in His Dispensation. When he was brought to Prince Azam who waited for him outside the gate, Abul Hasan took off his necklace of pearls and put it round the neck of the prince, who received him with respect and conducted him to the Emperor. He was accorded with all marks of respect and consolation and was lodged in the Imperial camp and provided with all amenities. If Saqui, the court chronicler, is to be relied upon, the Emperor was good enough to condone all his sins and ordered for suitable arrangements for Abul Hasan in one of the royal tents. The same historian says that Abul Hasan recited the following couplet when he first appeared before the Emperor :[1]

آخر مرا بہ خاک درت روشناس کرد
منت گزار سجدہ پیشانی خودم

"I am thankful to my forehead which at last introduced me to your threshold."

Ruhullah Khan and his assistants seized the entire property of the fort and according to the inventory then prepared, the property consisted of jewels, precious instruments and vessels of gold and silver. Besides, six crores eighty lacs and ten thousand rupees in cash were realized. All these assets

(Continued from page 287)

the Tomb of Hazrat Shah Raju and bowed. On an enquiry by Mahabat Khan, he replied that he was paying his obeissance to the Saint for his favours he had bestowed on him and that it was the Saint who had placed the crown on his head and then he took it back and placed it on the head of another person. Mahnama, p. 319.

1—Saqui, p. 300.

were transferred to the Imperial treasury.[1] A large number of the Qutub Shahi incumbents and professionists, both high and low, were absorbed in the Mughal service with adequate ranks and cash grants commensurate with their position. The ex-king's children were also bestowed with Imperial favours. The male issues were awarded mansabs. His daughters were given in marriage to suitable persons. Abdullah, who was supposed to be the king's adopted son was favoured with four thousand-rank and four thousand-horse,[2] and his three daughters who had attained majority before the fall of Golcunda were married ere long. The eldest was married to Sinkandar Adil Shah, the deposed king of Bijapur, the second to a Mughal peer, Mohd. Omer, the son of Shaik. Mohd. Suharwardi and the third to Inayat Khan who was the son of Asad Khan, the Prime Minister.[3] The Emperor. also took personal interest in the case of Abdur Razzak Lari whom he admired for his unflinching devotion to his master.

1—Khafi Khan Vol. II, p. 367.

2—Saqui p. 303. Saqui mentions Abdullah as an adopted son of Abul Hasan but the name is not traceable in local histories. The king, however, had his own son, named Khuda Banda or Banda Sultan, born during his confinement at Doulatabad. When the boy grew up, he was introduced to the Emperor and was allowed to attend the Imperial court. But the Emperor was frightened to see that the boy was greatly respected by the old incumbents of Golcunda and therefore he was deported to an unknown place with no trace whatsoever.

3—Saqui, p. 312. Khafi Khan gives a different version of the marriages. According to him, Abul Hasan had four daughters. the eldest of whom refused to get married and lived with his father in the fort in her celibacy. The 2nd was married to Sikandar, the 3rd to Inayat Khan and the 4th to Mohd. Omar. The marriage of the last daughter was solemnized against the wish of her father. Khafi Khan, Vol. II, p. 407.

Indian and European surgeons were appointed to take care of him and to dress his wounds. To quote the Emperor's own words, had there been more loyal persons like Lari in the fort, the siege would have taken a still longer time.[1] According to the surgeons' reports submitted to the Emperor, the cuts on his body were more numerous than could be counted. There were seventy cuts noticed on his face alone. Although one of his eyes appeared to be unaffected, yet it was feared that both the eyes would lose sight.[2] It was after thirteen days that Lari opened his eyes and uttered some words in broken accent. On getting the report of his recovery, the Emperor conveyed his message to the effect that he was pleased to condone all his sins and bestow his royal favours on him and his sons. But, Abdur Razzak refused to accept the Mughal service or the promised honours and said : "tenacious of life though I am, I have not yet recovered from my illness and have little hope of recovery too. Even if I survive, it would not be possible for me to dishcharge the official duties with my disabled and deframed limbs. Moreover, one who owes all that one is and all that one was to Abul Hasan, cannot accept the service of Alamgir Padshah."[3] The Emperor was sorely displeased by these outbursts but he, however, liked to have the second report of his health. When Lari regained his health completely, the Imperial offer of the Mughal service was again communicated to him and the reaction was yet the same. Lari also expressed his desire to proceed to Hijaz for Haj pilgrimage. The Emperor was incensed at this refusal and ordered him to be arrested and

1—Khafi Khan, Vol. II, p. 366

2—Khafi Khan, Vol. II, p. 366.

3—Khafi Khan, Vol. II, pp. 366-367; Shah Nawaz Khan, Vol. II, pp. 820-821.

brought before him. Feroz Jung was alarmed by this crisis and made an attempt to have some reconcilation. He intervened and exhorted Lari to give up his old ideas which were no longer in keeping with the changed circumstances. "It is no use to stick to the old principles however noble they may appear," said Feroz Jung, "particularly at a time when the tables were turned entirely and the kingdom was no more." Then he recommended him to the Emperor for liberal consideration. Lari was too reluctant to accept the offer, but, after an year or so he was obliged to accept it with a view to averting the crisis. He was invested with four thousand-rank and three thousand-horse, combined with the title of Khan, and was also given horses and elephants. He served the Mughal State half heartedly only for two years and then he applied for leave and left for the holy cities, never to return.[1] His four sons, Abdul Qader, Abdul Karim, Razzak Ali and Khaleel Mohd. were awarded different grades and Jagir assignments at Aurangabad.

Although the Mughals had entered the fort on 24th Zeekada, 1098 A.H., it took more than a week for the completion of the entire procedure of conquest. The chronograms written in commemoration of the historical event bear that date. The chronogram "Congratulations for the conquest of Golcunda" by Abul Kasim entitled Multafit Khan,[2] and the following couplet by Nimat Khan Aali bears the same date 1098:

1—Khafi Khan, Vol. II, pp. 366-367; Shah Nawaz Khan., Vol. II, pp. 820-821.

2—Saqui, p. 300. فتح گولکنده مبارکباد

بوالحسن داشت جا بہ چارمحل
کرد بیرون ازان مکان تقدیر
چون برون رفت او بجاش نشست
شاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر

"Abul Hasan who had his residence at Char Mahal had to quit it by the decree of Fate;

When he left, Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir occupied it."[1] Having completed the entire process of the Golcunda conquest, the Emperor came down to the city of Hyderabad and stayed there for more than two months. If a tradition is to be relied upon, the Imperial tent was pitched somewhere about the eastern corner of Char Minar where the Qutub Shahi Bath was situated. He liked the climate of the city which proved agreeable to him, therefore, he stayed there for a fairly long period of three months. During this stay, he also inspected the royal palaces and their adjuncts. He seems to have been fully impressed by the magnificence of Qutub Shahi life and culture though, apparently, he uttered no word of praise: nay, he even condemned everything he came across with the prunes and prisms of royal dignity and prestige. Nevertheless, the Emperor's impressions may be construed from the statement of Mohd. Saqui, the court chronicler, who has expressed his profound admiration of the city and its architecture. However, as the Emperor had to face the Marathas, he reluctantly left Hyderabad for Bijapur on the 1st of Rabi II, 1098 (1687 A.D.)[2] after he

1— Zafra, Girdhari Lal, p. 48.

2— Saqui p. 308. Khafi Khan gives the date of departure as the 1st week of Rabi II, and therefore the duration of the Emperor's stay in the city extends to 3 months.
Khafi Khan, Vol. II, p. 371.

had made proper arrangements for the future administration of Golcunda. Ruhullah Khan was entrusted with the administration of Hyderabad as a temporary measure but, some days later, he was replaced by Bahadur Dil Khan, surnamed Jan Sipar Khan. Abul Hasan who had to accompany the Emperor on his onward journey to the North, requested the latter for a suitable residence. This request was not made with a view to avoiding hardships of the travel which he was, as described by Saqui, unable to bear;[1] but it was a demand in keeping with his traditional honour and dignity. The Emperor accordingly sent him to Doulatabad along with Jan Sipar Khan. The latter conducted him with an armed escort upto Doulatabad fort where he was detained for the rest of his life, though with all the requisites necessary for his daily living. According to Khafi Khan, successive orders were issued to the concerned officers to make suitable arrangements for his needs and amenities.[2] Rupees fifty thousand were sanctioned for his maintenance.

1—Saqui p. 309. Saqui says that Abul Hasan was an indolent and easy going man. He had never taken the trouble of going out of the capital more than two miles, and therefore he could not bear the hardships of the journey. But this statement is not warranted by facts.

2—Khafi Khan, Vol. II, p. 371.

CHAPTER XVIII

AFTERMATH

The conquest of Golcunda by Aurangzeb, brought two hundred years of the Golcunda kingdom to an abrupt end with no prospects of its revival. What remained of the defunct kingdom was nothing but the sad memories of its glorious past and the architectural ruins. The annexation of the kingdom had been the long cherished desire of the Mughals and they were aspiring for it for well nigh over half a century. Rosy though its conquest appeared in the beginning, it proved veritable and prolonged for the Imperialists who lacked necessary endurance to tackle it successfully. It defeated all the prospects and exhausted all the resources of the Empire. In the Mughal history of two centuries, the siege of Golcunda happened to be the second only to that of Aseergadh which was undertaken by Akbar at the end of the sixteenth century. Golcunda involved the loss of Mughal prestige in the same degree as that of Aseergadh in the days of Akber the Great. Aurangzeb was as much anxious to bring the siege of Golcunda to a successful conclusion as Akber was at the siege of Aseergadh, because Golcunda had exhausted the patience of the Imperialists for as long as eight dreary months, incurring heavy losses and reverses. As a matter of fact, the defensive organization of Golcunda was quite a match to the Mughal strength. The fort garrison was inspired by the unswerving resoluteness and enduring spirit

of Abul Hasan and was quickened by the undaunted courage and heroism of Abdur Razak Lari. To quote the Emperor's own words, had there been two more loyal persons like Lari in the fort, its capture would have become well nigh impossible. The Mughals were so unnerved by the reverses that in a fit of frustration they even went to the length of acknowledging their defeat and lifting the siege. Some of the Mughal soldiers saw no alternative but to desert to the Qutub Shahi camp. The eventual success too which had resulted in the capture of the fort, cannot be regarded as the outcome of fair military action, but it was rather an unfortunate result of treachery on the part of the Afghan general who had betrayed the cause of his master and paralyzed the entire scheme of defence.

The liquidation of the Golcunda Sultanate was anything but an act of political wisdom and foresight. Far from adding strength to the Empire, it hastened its downfall. If the conquest was based on a judicious plan of annihilating the Maratha power, it defeated its own end. For, after the fall of Golcunda the Marathas emerged as powerful as ever before. It may be true to say that the Marathas regained fresh vigour after the death of the Emperor and overthrew the Empire. So long as the kingdoms of Bijapur and Golcunda existed they had, within their limited sphere, offered stiff resistance to the Maratha power and retarted its progress. There is no doubt that these kingdoms had invoked Maratha aid and sought the alliance of Sivaji and also of his successor, Sambhaji in course of time, but it was at a much later date when these kingdoms were completely deluded by the Mughal government. It is undeniable a fact that Adil Shah II of Bijapur had extended his hearty co-operation and participated in the joint efforts put forth by the Imperial

government against Sivaji, but he was duped by Jai Singh after he had rendered a great service and had defeated Sivaji- This unhappy state of affairs had forced Bijapur and Golcunda to seek Maratha aid, because they had lost their faith in the Mughal Empire. It would be seen that the Emperor's adventure was more sentimental than an act of shrewd statesmanship. The Emperor had already been dreaming of the conquest of Golcunda when he was the governor of the Deccan. Had he been allowed a free hand in his governorship, he would have dismembered the kingdoms there and then. At no time was the Emperor friendly with Golcunda which was a veritable anathema to him. Golcunda was regarded as "Darul Jehad" as against the legal pronouncements of the Muslim divines and the deposed king too had received scant justice.

The dismemberment of the Golcunda kigdom, however, was not without its far-reaching consequences. It was as detrimental to the progress of the Deccan culture as it was to the Mughal cause. The Qutub Shahi civilization suffered an irreparable loss and its avenues of progress were blocked for a long time, for not only the flourishing city of Hyderabad was devastated, but other parts of the kingdom were also reduced to ruins. The royal palaces which had evoked world wide admiration for their magnificence and symmetry fell in disuse. They were grossly neglected by the conquerors who hoarded large booty in cash and jewels but cared little for the Qutub Shahi monuments. The magnificent palaces like Dad Mahal, Gagan Mahal and Char Mahal are no longer in existence with the exception of their past memories. Dad Mahal was deliberately dismantled by the Mughal rulers. The Golcunda population which consisted of various classes felt insecurity and the nobility and gentry bade

adieu to their ancestral home and settled down in the southern districts of Karnatak, leaving Golcunda for ever. The ladies of the harem committed suicide by drowning themselves in wells and lakes. The Negro guard which was many hundred strong was put to the sword. A tradition has it that the Negro soldiers who guarded the palace entrances refused to budge an inch from their post of duty till they were beheaded one and all. The unfortunate result of the bloodshed and devastation was that a gloom of night settled on the whole kingdom. The city of Hyderabad never regained its past glory even after it was rehabilitated by the Asaf Jahi rulers. Lachminarayan Shafeeq who wrote his history in the early Asaf Jahi period, gives an authentic account of the desolation of the city of Hyderabad. "Burhanpur, Bijapur and Bidar which formed the capitals of the Deccan kings," says Shafeeq, "are now in ruins. But Hyderabad, being adopted as the head-quarter of the Asaf Jahi kingdom, displays some life because it is visited by statesmen and travellers from foreign countries. The city, however, is not as flourishing as it was in the days of the Qutub Shahi kings. With all its rendevous and literary activities, most of the parts of the city were in ruins. The dwelling houses of the city, including the concrete and tile-roofed houses were fifty thousand on record. Most of them are deserted, and reduced to heaps of stones. Dad-Mahal was deliberately dismantled. It was thirty years ago that the palace was completely pulled down. Most of the buildings of the city which were reduced to ruins are traceable by their cellars."[1] The pathetic elegy writen by Nimat Khan Aali on that occasion gives a graphic description of the scathe ruination caused to Golcunda. The significance of the elegy

1—Ahwali-Hyderabad by Lachmi Narayan Shafeeq, British Meuseum copy.

lies in the fact that it was composed by an Imperialist who had come to Hyderabad not to shed his tears but to liquidate it. The devastation of the city is so touching that it never failed to move even an Imperialist to tears. It is a pen-portrait of the havoc caused by the Mughal invasion as also an expression of the inner feelings of the author who was deeply moved by the sorry sight of the scathe and impairment. It holds the same place in history as the elegy written by Shaik Sadi does on the sack of Baghdad and that of Dagh on the fall of Delhi. It runs as follows:—

قصیده شهر آشوب

درین ملک خراب امروز کس را نیست سامانے
چو گنج افتاده اند اهل هنر در کنج ویرانے
به آن حدے رسیده خلق را افلاس و ناداری
که معنی هم ندارد این زمان حرف سخن دانے
سپاهی هم به میدان قناعت می کند جولان
ز شمشیر و سپر دارد دم آبے لب نانے
یکے گفتم خداوندا بحق نوح پیغمبر
برائے قلعه گولکنده کن ایجاد طوفانے

"There is none today that has any means of subsistence in this desolate country;

Men of art and letters are buried like a hidden treasure amidst its ruins.

Want and destitution have over-whelmed people to such an extent that the expression 'learned' has lost its significance. Even a soldier has to toil hard for contentment, and all his sword and shield can only yield him a drop of water and a slice of bread.

As one has cried, Oh Lord! in the name of Noah the Prophet, create one more deluge for the sake of Golcunda."[1]

One of the worst repurcussions of the fall of Golcunda was the rapid rise of the European settlers on the Coromandal Coast. So long as the Qutub Shahi government ruled over the country, it had strict control over European companies and their settlements. Abul Hasan and his minister, Madanna, were careful and vigilant rulers. They took effective steps to keep the European companies, both the English and the French, under strict discipline in order to ensure that they did not behave in a high-handed manner. They were never allowed to exceed their legitimate jurisdiction. They had to abide by the laws of the land, pay their stipulated dues and obey the provincial and central authorities. But the moment the Qutub Shahi government ceased to function, the European companies threw off their shakles and adopted a defiant mood. The Mughal government which had replaced the Qutub Shahi authority in the Eastern Deccan failed to bring all the length and breadth of the country under its effective control. It had to divert its energy and attention towards the Maratha power which was assuming alarming prpoportions. The Emperor left Hyderabad two or three months after the fall of Golcunda to check the Maratha menace and the Mughal dignitaries who were placed in charge of the Deccan administration were not equal to their task. Their negligence afforded a good chance for the European settlers. They consolidated their position to the extent that in the course of half a century the English East India Company became the master of the whole Sub-continent.

1—Aali, Nimat Khan, Waqa-i-Golcunda, p. 15,

Abul Hasan's character and personality.

As for the deposed king Abul Hasan, he was forced to live a secluded life at the fort of Doulatabad for nearly fourteen years[1] till he died in 1700 A.D. How he reconciled himself to the dreary look and dismal surroundings of the dingy fort is beyond description. The poor soul was denied even the daily comforts and amenities that he, as an ex-king, deserved. Poor sereals were supplied for his daily use. According to the diary of Bukhari, the fort keeper, he refrained from having food for some time and as his repeated protests went unheaded, his hunger strike continued for many days.[2] He died in the fort after a miserable life of fourteen years and his remains were laid to rest at Khuldabad, either in 1699 A.D. (1111) or 1700 A.D. (1112).[3] A son who was named either Khuda Banda or Band Sultan was born to him during his internment in the fort.

Abul Hasan was one of those unfortunate monarchs to whom history has done scant justice and who have been wilfully misrepresented by their enemies. He fell a victim to the relentless ambition of the Mughals who coveted the rich

1—Manucci says that Abul Hasan was helped by the Marathas who had tried to liberate and restore him to the throne. But the Maratha plot was soon discovered and the Emperor lost no time to shift him to the fort of Gawalior as a precautionary measure where he died (Manucci Vol. III, p. 193). But this statement Library, Idara Adabiat, Hyderabad.

2—Nama Feyaz Alam, Syed Murtuza, Mubarak Khan Bukhari, Mss: Library, Idara Adabiat, Hyderabad.

3—Historians differ about the exact date of Abul Hasan's death. Abu Turab gives the dates as 1111 or 1112 (See Abu Turab Part I, p. 114) and Manucci as 1114 (1702) or 1115 (1703). See Manucci, Vol. III, p. 193).

lands of the Deccan. The kingdom of Golcunda had long been marked out for conquest. But this scheme of conquest could only be justified by misrepresenting Abul Hasan in a manner as to prove him entirely unfit to rule the vast kingdom of Golcunda. It was only then that the Emperor could assume every right to depose him and establish his civilized rule at Golcunda. His character has been so thoroughly blackened by the Mughal propaganda that we fail to find any trace of a noble quality in his private or public life. The Mughal historians depict him as nothing but a contemptible figure, absolutely devoid of any capacity for governing. Some of the statements of the Emperor and his chroniclers are so contemptuously worded that one may even doubt whether Abul Hasan had any right to be called a human being. Khafi Khan, a Mughal historian of the period, calls him "a characterless wretch" and "one doomed to everlasting misery."[1] Muhammad Saqui, entitled Must'aid Khan, the court chronicler of Aurangazeb, applies to him such malignant epithets as "mean, sensualist, and vile."[2] The Emperor's own remarks on Abul Hasan are too hyperbolical to take him even a man of ordinary inteligence. But the Emperor with all his power of expression does not seem to be content even with the lengthy statement and because it falls short of the reality, he adds, "words fail me to give, in full, the heinous acts of the perverted wretch." [3]

In the light of the records which have been lately unearthed, it is not difficult to pierce the veil of Mughal representation and to give a correct picture as to what abul Hasan really was. Popular tradition represents him as a vagabond

1—Khafi Khan, Vol. II, p. 342.
2—Ma'athir-i-Alamgiri, p. 285.
3—Khafi Khan, Vol. II, p. 328.

upon whom the kingdom of Golcunda was unfortunately thrust by Providence. It is natural, too, because all traditions ultimately rest on Mughal statements. Even the history books which were written late in the Asafjahi period, i.e., the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, blindly follow what the Mughal historians had written. There has been no attempt on the part of later historians to dispel the mist of propaganda and to give an unbiased judgment about the character and personality of Abul Hasan.

We know that it was during the reign of Abul Hasan Qutub Shah that Aurangzeb started his Deccan campaigns with an elaborate plan of conquerring the whole southern country which was then divided between the two Muslim kingdoms of Golcunda and Bijapur as also that of the Marhattas. Although it looked more or less a continuation of what was originally planned by Akber the great and carried on by Jahangir and Shah Jehan, yet it differed entirely in spirit. The idea which underlay the scheme was to bring all the weaker kingdoms of the North and South under the sway of the greater Mughal Empire. But Aurangzeb gave reorientation to the scheme. He unfortunately entangled himself in a very situation. He changed the policy of subjugation to that of annexation. Besides, his aggressive designs clothed in religious disguise, added to the entanglement and constituted a serious threat not only to the Deccan states but also to the Empire itself. The Emperor was a great advocate of religion and, as such, he had to shape all his political and military activities in conformity with the Quranic law. As far as the Maratha power was concerned, the Emperor was confident that he, as a true Muslim was perfectly justified in annihilating it. But as to the Muslim kingdoms of Golcunda and Bijapur, the Mughal policy was doubtful. Any aggressive design against

them was anti-Islamic. Moreover, the Emperor's hostile attitude towards the Muslim kingdoms was challenged by the eminent ecclesiastical heads of the day, Qadi Shaikul Islam and Qadi 'Abdullah. The Emperor, was on the horn of the dilemma. He had either to adhere to the Quranic law and forego the annexation policy, or to forego the law itself. The scheme of conquest was so dear to his heart that the Emperor was not at all prepared to forego it even at the cost of his orthodoxy. He, however, tried his utmost to make both ends meet. He clung to the policy of conquest and he asserted on his own authority that the policy was entirely in harmony with the law of Islam. And in order to substantiate his assertion, the Emperor and his historians used all their literary talent to prove the government of Golcunda as tyrannical and un-Islamic as to justify their military activities against the state. Muhammad Saqui has devoted two pages of his history in tarnishing the face of Abul Hasan;[1] and the Emperor issued a lengthy manifesto which enumerated all the depravities which, acording to his point of view, he was guilty of. Abul Hasan was charged with a number of the grossest misdemeanours which amounted to breach of the Islamic faith and, as such, he was not only unworthy of any toleration, but also his very existence was detrimental to the society and the cause of Islam. Khafi Khan gives the full text of the Emperor's Firman which was deliberately worded to stigmatize Abul Hasan as entirely unworthy of the position he had so unfortunately held and side by side, to dispel the doubts of the Muslims in general who were very suspicious of the military movement.

It is, however, strange that the self-same histories which describe him as a characterless vagabond, do not fail to voice

1—Saqui, Ma'athir-i-Alamgiri, pp. 285-286.

that Abul Hasan was, at the same time, a staunch disciple of Shah Raju, a great Sufi and religious head of Hyderabad in the second half of the seventeenth century.[2] As he belonged to the religious fold of the saint who wielded a wide moral and religious influence all over the kingdom it is certainly unfair to call Abul Hasan a vagabond as Khafi Khan so unjustly concludes. His subsequent life shows that the company of the saint had moulded his character and turned him a sufi. He led a pure and chaste life. He was well-versed in Quranic elocution and recited the Quran in its seven different schools. This is the reason why king Abdullah was inclined towards him and the influential party of

1—Khafi Khan, Vol. II, p. 310.

Shah Raju whose full name is Shah Raziuddin Raju Qattal was a great sufi and a religious head of the later Qutub Shahi period. He was related to Hazrat Hussain Shah Wali and descended from Hazrat Banda Nawaz of Gulbarga. He was born in Bijapur. His father who is known by the same name had come and settled in Hyderabad in the reign of Mohammed Quli Qutub Shah, but because of his complicity in the secret political plot against the reigning monarch, he had to leave Hyderabad for Bijapur. His son Shah Raju II to whom Abul Hasan Qutub Shah owes his future career, had come to Hyderabad probably in the reign of Abdullah Qutub Shah. He had a great following and influence in the Golcunda society and had played a vital part in moulding the character and personality of Abul Hasan who was his staunch desciple. The king's devotion to the Saint can be judged by the following line by Tabiyee, the Court poet:—

چل آیا ھے شاہ ترے گھر شاہ راجو

O Shah Raju, the king has come to you on foot. The Saint died in 1684 (1096) and was buried in the outskirts of the city, out side Fatah Darwaza. A magnificent mausoleum was built on his grave by King Abul Hasan. See Bilgrami, Landmarks of the Deccan p. 74, and Jabbar Khan Asafi, Saints of the Deccan Vol. I, pp. 337-38-39.

State officials including the dignitaries like Musa Khan and Syed Muzaffer, fought for Abul Hasan in preference to Syed Ahmad. Had there been no support of this kind, Abul Hasan was most likely to be ousted by Syed Ahmad.

The reign of Abul Hasan lasted for nearly fourteen years up to 1687. The historical material, available now, does not fail to reveal some of the important elements of Abul Hasan's administrative capacity. Even the Mughal histories which purported to defame Abul Hasan give several traces which contradict the Mughal propaganda. Really speaking, the reign of Abul Hasan was as peaceful and prosperous as the reigns of his predecessors. There is clear evidence that Abul Hasan was fully qualified to conduct the domestic and the foreign policy of the day as successfully as his predecessors did. At home, he tried his best to encourage the literary and industrial activities of his kingdom. His excellent taste for art and literature, which has become proverbial in the Deccan, had greatly stimulated the literary and artistic activity of his age and thus prepared the way for the realization of the ideal of the Qutubshahi kings. Though there were signs of degeneration visible in the social and political life of the period, still the kingdom never ceased to grow in prosperity. New arts and crafts were introduced and encouraged and, as a result, according to Muhammad Saqui, there was a multitude of artizans, mechanics and skilled labourers in the kingdom, and it would require another big volume to describe them![1] The booty which was seized after the capture of Golcunda consisted of cash, jewels, and other precious articles amounting to crores of rupees.

1—Saqui, Ma'athir-iAlamgiri, p. 302.

The military organization of Golcunda was also at its best in the reign of Abul Hasan and, as a matter of fact, the defence was far stronger than in the previous reign. The siege which was conducted by Aurangzeb as a prince in 1656 lasted for a month or two before the king of Golcunda sued for peace and agreed to the disgraceful terms dictated by the Mughals. But in the last siege, the fort held out for as long as eight months as against the Imperial odds. Had there been no treachery on the part of the Golcunda general, the siege would have continued still longer. It was only because of the disloyalty and treason of Abdullah Khan Punni, that the fort was captured. What is much more important to note is the demonstration of strong character of Abul Hasan who behaved, in the presence of his captors, with patience par excellence and equanimity un-equalled in history.

The appointment of Madanna as dewan of the state, which was particularly resented to by the Mughals was no crime. The kingdom of Golcunda being broadminded, admitted its Hindu subjects in its fold. There were many personalities like Jagput Rao and Dilpat Rao, who held some of the higher posts of the state in the early period, and the appointment of Madanna as a dewan of the state was in no way ultra vires. Madanna did no harm to the state. The chief reason why the Mughals were dead against him was that his policy was anti-Mughal. So long as Madanna ruled, he never tolerated any interference of the Mughals and tried his level best to safe-guard the kingdom against Mughal aggression.

Abul Hasan took as much interest in foreign affairs as in the domestic. He seems to have been fully aware of the political situation in the Deccan which had become very

complicated owing to the Mughal aggression. After the fall of Ahmadnagar, the southern kingdoms were exposed to Mughal attacks and, therefore, they had to make a common cause with the southern powers to safeguard their integrity; it was the time-honoured policy of Golcunda to co-operate with her sister kingdoms so as to have a strong united front against the North. Abul Hasan, on several occasions of emergency, sought the political alliance with the Maratha leader, Sambhaji and helped Bijapur. Though the Marathas were a Hindu power, yet it was natural for the Muslim rulers of the Deccan to trust them as a southern power more than they did others. The Bijapur historian, Zubairi gives a full account as to how Abul Hasan took interest in the domestic affairs of Bijapur[2]

Abul Hasan's noble qualities, that is, his magnanimity of heart, broader vision, political sagacity and, above all, his religious tolerance and love and affection for his subjects, never ceased to endear him to the Golcunda people. He commanded a country wide popularity and respect so long as he lived and reigned, and left an indelible mark in history after he died. His memory is still enshrined in the hearts of the Andhra people as a Saint and a Rishi. His name is sung in ballads on ceremonial occasions and to solemnize wedding rites in Muslim homes and is revered as a Rishi in Hindu homes.[3] Ali bin Taifur Bustami who compiled the history entitled, Hadaiqus Salateen in 1092 A. H., only six years before

1—Maathir-i-Alamgiri, p. 308.

2—Zubairi, Basatinus Salatin, pp. 455-546.

3—An Andhra tradition has it that Tana Shah was a devotee Brahmin and worshipped Shivalanga in his previous birth. But, he, failed to reach the spiritual heights owing to his grave mistakes.

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the fall of Golcunda extols the king in very high terms and wishes him and his kingdom a long life and prosperity with fervent devotion :—

> "By the grace of God, the Dispenser of Justice and through homage and devotion to the Twelve Apostles, may peace and blessing descend upon them from the Great Lord of the world; this state, contermonions with eternity, is associated with this august dynasty for one hundred eighty years till the current date of one thousand ninety two, when these pages, with reflection of Heaven, are being written. I fervently hope and invoke Divine help that the end of the kingdom may fall in with the advent of the Master of the Age, may peace and bliss be on him."

به تخصیص شاه جهان ابوالحسن
که در سایه اوست ما را وطن
خدایا به اعزاز خیر الوری
بحق نجوم سپهر هدی
که آن خسرو عادل پاک دین
همیشه به اقبال بادا قرین
به دنیا بماناد بسیار سال
نگهبان او حضرت ذوالجلال

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Shiva, however, appeared before him and assured him of a kingly career in the next birth, through a malacha king (Muslim) because of his sins.

Vedam Venkataraya Sastry, the story of Akanna and Madanna, p. 88.

1—Ali bin Taifur Bustami, Hadaiqus Salatin, Mss., Salarjung Library. p. 209.

Thanks to the generosity of Abul Hasan, the king of the world,
We enjoy a congenial home under his benign rule;
I pray that by the honour of the Prophet
And for the sake of creation of the Stars of righteousness,
May the king, just and pious, reap the fruit of prosperity
and have many happy returns and God Almighty be his protector.

Part V

The Kingdom in Retrospect

CHAPTER XIX

THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

The Qutub Shahi contribution to the Social and Political development of Andhra is a high land mark in the cultural evolution of the Deccan. The Qutub Shahs were great reformers and nation-builders of the Deccan. Their part in the process of nation-building is in no way inferior to that of the neighbouring and contemporary dynasties. Their glory lies in bringing about a cultural synthesis of the varied currents which flowed into the Deccan from different quarters. The Qutub Shahi culture which was evolved in the Andhra Desh occupies a pre-eminent status, conspicuous among the culture patterns of the Deccan Plateau. It was not exclusively foreign as is wrongfully represented but it fully reflected local trends and outlook. The Qutub Shahi kings were in no way upstarts with no cultural background, but being the scions of a defunct royal family of Trans-Oxania, they inherited a valuable legacy of culture. They brought to the Deccan noble traditions of art and culture and high ideals of life and society. Their culture was still more enriched by contact with the Bahmani society in the beginning of the sixteenth century. They learned valuable lessons from the Bahmanides in the fields of life and politics, and transformed the Andhra country socially and politically in the course of a century. But, at the same time, they were sympathetic to the

ancient Andhra culture and freely incorporated many of its elements into their composite culture pattern. They identified themselves with the country they lived in, imbibed the local spirit and assimilated the local traditions and concepts.[1] Thus the Qutub Shahi culture which comprehends life and society, politics and government and science and art is a harmonious fusion of diverse elements drawn from various sources, Persian, Indian, Bahmani and Andhra.

A fair measure of demarcation of state functions, efficiency in administration, a very high sense of public well-being and religious toleration, were the high-lights of Qutub Shahi politics and administration. The state functions were fairly classified according to the nature of the work and assigned to qualified persons. Men of high intellectual attainments were selected to shoulder the state administration. Whenever any administrative lapse was noticed, it was promptly rectified and persons guilty of the discrepancy were brought to book. The welfare of the state subjects of all castes and creeds, was the primary concern of the Qutub Shahi government. The Qutub Shahs were fully alive to the social and economic needs of the people and tried their utmost to provide with all possible comforts to the extent that the sources of the kingdom permitted. Religious freedom was the distinct hall-mark of the Golcunda kingdom. All classes and communities, whatever be their religious affiliation, caste or creed, enjoyed full freedom of conscience and religious practices. There is no record of mass conversions of the Hindus to Islam during the long range of the Qutub Shahi history. Nay, it was even deprecated by

1The kings, adopted local dress and customs, learned Telugu language, wrote verse in Telugu and gave every liberty to all classes of the people and left people to adhere to any religion they liked—Relations of Golcunda, p. 12.

the government. Hindu temples and institutions were as liberally subsidized by the government as were the Muslim mosques. The words of a modern historian can well be cited here to illustrate the fact. "Of all the Muslim dynasties that ruled in India, the Qutub Shahs of Golcunda were the most enlightened. True, they plundered and destroyed Hindu temples in the enemy's territory during the course of invasions, but within their own dominions, the Hindus enjoyed a measure of religious freedom, not known in other Muslim kingdoms. Nor did the Qutub Shahs show discrimination in appointments to public service on grounds of religion. The Hindus and Mohammadans were equally eligible to all posts including the highest under the government. The most interesting feature of the Qutub Shahi rule is the identification of the rulers with the ruled. They never regarded themselves as alien conquerors, superior to the people over whom they had sway. They were of course Muslims but, like their subjects, they were Andhras."[1]

Although the Qutub Shahi constitution was a replica of the Bahmanides in many respects because the Golcunda Sultanate was but an off-shoot of the Great Bahmani kingdom, yet it reflected local concepts of life and Society as well. The constitution was so moulded as to be in harmony with the local temper and not contrary to the local traditions and concepts. The Qutub Shahi government was monarchical in form with an absolute king as the head. The king exercised absolute power with no regular democratic channel for the expression of public views and feelings. But it was nevertheless a benevolent monarchy. The king was supposed to possess noble qualities of the head and heart combined with

1—Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, Silver Jubilee Souvenier, the Andhra Chamber of Commerce, p. 46.

a lofty character and was responsive to the public feelings though in an indirect manner. The Qutub Shahi kings had a hallow of sanctity round their person. They claimed divine right and designated themselves as Zillullah, the image of God. Mohd. Quli and his nephew Sultan Mohammed both believed in their exalted position as Zillullah and the latter used this epithet as his pen name. A village in the vicinity of Hyderabad is named Zillullahguda after him. Almost all the kings of the dynasty were highly learned and cultured and possessed a high sense of justice as well as the high sense of responsibility which goes with the office of kingship. It was a common practice that they not only referred important matters of the state to their ministers for advice but, on occasions, they also called upon the scholars and divines of the state to give their counsel. Abdullah Qutub Shah sought the advice of scholars and divines before he entered into treaty relations with the Mughal government in 1636. All the Qutub Shahi Kings were tolerant, humane and just. Their guiding principle was benevolence. They treated their Hindu subjects as liberally as they did the Muslim community. They even went to the length of declaring Tuesday as a week holiday [1] and assigning jagirs and large tracts of arable lands for the up-keep of Hindu temples and for the performance of religious ceremonies thereof. Abul Hasan's liberal award of jagir assignment to Bhadrachelam and Bhramara Malleshwaraswami temples situated on the Godavari Krishna respectively redounds to the magnanimity of his heart.[2] This

1—Saidi, Nizamuddin, part I, p. 128.

2—Bhadrachelam temple owes its origin to Gopanna, Ramdas, whose story relating to the construction of the temple, his imprisonment in Golçunda and his release is well known. Tana Shah had

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is why the Andhra people regarded the Qutub Shahi Sultanate as their own and the king as their national ruler. Sultan Quli, the founder of the kingdom, was revered and loved by his Hindu subjects as "Bare Malik" even in his early days when he assumed the reigns of the government, and the dowager queens were revered as 'Man Sahib.'

ACCESSION.

In order to make an interregnum as short as possible and to ensure smooth running of the day-to-day administration, the accession of a new king was announced immediately after the demise of the old. This is how Abdullah Qutub Shah was installed on the throne at Mohammedi Mahal in 1626-1035.[1] The accession durbars were attended by all the grandees of the State, both civil and military, who paid their customary homage to the new king. The occasion was proclaimed by heralds who roamed about in the city on elephants and camels and called the name of the new king at the top of their voice. The actual ceremony was celebrated a few days after the mortal remains of the departed king were laid to rest and the state mourning was over. An auspicious day was chosen for the purpose and elaborate preparations were made to make the function as grand as possible. Bugles and trumpets were blown to announce the happy event and the

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endowed three villages, Bhadrachelam, Palavancha and Shankergir Patti for the maintenance of the temple. It was founded in March 1652 (Endownments office records.) Bharamara Malleshwaraswami was equally endowed by the king three villages Bhogavagaram, Cherukuru and Veeranapatam for its maintenance. See the farman issued by Tana Shah on 12 Rabi I, 1095 A. H. The collection of Professor Sajan Lal of Secunderabad.

1—Saidi, Nizamuddin, part I, p. 20.

new king was seated on the throne by the grandees and high priests of the state. All those who attended the durbar were required to occupy their proper places in the Darbar Hall according to their proper rank and status, to pay their obeisance and wish the king long life and prosperity. The function usually ended with a recitation of a panegyric ode. Mir Momin, the premier, recited his historical odes in honour of Sultan Mohammed when he was installed on the throne in 1612. Not only the functionaries serving in the capital but also the local incumbents such as governors, fort-keepers and Naik-waris were awarded robes from the government store which they were required to wear and grace the occasion.[1] Foreign messages of congratulations were also received on these occasions from Bijapur, Ahmednagar and Persia.

The Qutub Shahi Durbars were as gorgeously decorated as those of the Bahmanides. It appears that the early darbars held in the life-time of Sultan Quli were pure and simple, devoid of large-scale splendour. It was only in the reign of Ibraheem Qutub Shah that a grand Durbar Hall known as Doulat Khana Ali was constructed and durbars were held with great pomp and pageantry. The hall was 200 feet in length, surrounded by numerous arches and colonnades and its entrance which represented mostly Hindu style was as high as 20 yards with its super-structure resting on grand pillars. The hall was flanked by buildings, housing government secretariat and stores. A two-storied building just opposite to it was meant for kettle-drums. The durbar was convened every day in the morning and the grandees of the state were required to attend but they had to leave their retainers outside. They stood erect in their proper position

1—Saidi, page 26.

and paid their homage to the king. Only the eminent personalities with special prestige were allowed to take their seats in the durbar. Some elephants and 1,000 infantry men stood two lines deep in front of the hall and added to the grandeur of the durbar. The hall was also guarded by armed negro soldiers under the command of their chieftain. When the city of Hyderabad was laid-out and was adorned with magnificent buildings as Dad Mahal and Khudadad Mahal, durbars were also held there. Besides the grand durbars, the king also held ministerial courts where he gave audience to ministers and scholars.

MINISTERS.

Although the king was the pivot of state affairs, yet the general administration was run by a number of ministers and deputy ministers to whom well defined duties were assigned. It appears that all of the state functions were clearly classified and every minister was assigned with a particular set of duties. Some of the top-rank ministers were the same as in the Bahmani days. The prime minister was designated as Wakeele Mutlaq or Peshwa, who not only did general administrative work but also shaped the internal and external policy of the state. It was he who was called upon to give his juridical counsels to the king on matters of importance. Persons of high calibre and intellectual attainments were selected for the post and were invested with robes of honour and other distinctions at the time of the assumption of office. Mustafa Khan Ardistani, Meer Momin, and Saikh Mohd. Ibne Khatoon were some of the eminent personalities who held the post in the reign of Ibraheem, Mohd. Quli and Abdullah respectively. They enjoyed the unique prestige of being carried in a palanquin direct to the courtyard of the Durbar Hall and had a seat to the left side of the throne. As a

general practice ministers holding the post of Meer Jumla were promoted to premiership. Shaikh Mohammed was originally appointed as a deputy minister and worked under Shah Mohammed Peshwa in the early reign of Abdullah. The designation of peshwa underwent a change in the last reign, that is, 'Peshwa' was designated as 'Dewan.' Madanna was consequently known as Dewan and not as Peshwa.

MEER JUMLA

Meer Jumla, or to put it in correct phraseology, Ameere Jumla was an important minister next to peshwa. The minister was generally invested with the title of Jumlatul-Mulk and therefore the port-folio was known as Jumlatul-Mulki. The duties assigned to him were those of revenue and finance in the modern sense of the terms and as such he combined the functions both of a revenue and a finance Minister. He was responsible for the collection of revenue and finance, that is, the income and expenditure of the state. He supervised the accounts and audit not only of the civil but also of the military departments and as such he exercised more extensive powers than those of the peshwa himself and, therefore, those who held this post figured very prominently in the history of Golcunda. Some of them exceeded their legitimate jurisdiction and encroached on the powers of the peshwa himself. Mirza Mohd. Ameen, Mulla Taqi and Meer Mohd. Saeed were prominent finance ministers who steered the kingdom triumphantly in the reigns of Mohd. Quli and Abdullah respectively and over-shadowed the seat of the peshwas. Mirza Mohd. Ameen and Mulla Taqi were specially honoured with a jewelled box as a symbol of their office.[1]

1—Saidi, 64.

AINUL MULK.

The minister who was in charge of the militia was designated by the title of "Ainul-Mulk" and the port folio came to be known as وزارت عین الملکی Ainul-Mulki ministry, because all the successive ministers bore the same title. Although the duties of the minister were nowhere clearly mentioned in history yet, from the references available, it may be inferred that he was an Army Minister and looked after the administration and recruitment of state forces and acted in the capacity of a Commander-in-Chief. As the supervisor of the state forces, the minister wielded much influence and was of paramount importance to the state and, therefore, in the words of Nizamuddin Saidi, Ainul-Mulk was top-ranked among the ministers.[1] Saif Khan Ainul-Mulk and Mansoor Khan Habshi were the prominent ministers who respectively held the post in the early and later reigns.

MAJMUADAR.

"Majmuadar" was a deputy minister, in charge of the accounts and audit department. His duties, as described by Saidi, were much more than those of the other functionaries. They covered a larger ground.[2] He was the Controller General of Audit in the modern sense of the term, in which capacity he controlled and scrutinized the revenue accounts and assets of the districts. He checked the accounts and prepared the statement of income and expenditure of the

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1—وزارت عین الملکی از اعاظم وزارت است Saidi, p. 59.

2—منصب رفیع مجموعه داری که عبارت از استیفای ممالک است Ibid. p. 31.

The high post of Majmuadar was really to function as the Auditor of all accounts of state. Saidi, p. 31. Wilson's Glossay, p. 321. Ain-i-Akbari Blockman, pp. 272-273.

state. Having regard to the nature of the work, learned Hindus were selected for the post. Narayan Rao was the famous Majmuadar who held the post in the reign of Abdullah.

NAZIR

"Nazir" was another functionary, who bears analogy to the modern Inspector or Supervisor. He was charged with the important duty of general supervision. He watched the public morality and made enquiry into every breach of law and peace.[3] Abu Talib and Meer Qasim were prominent Nazirs who discharged such duties during the reigns of Mohd. Quli and Abdullah respectively.

DABEER.

"Dabeer" was yet another functionary who was appropriately entitled as the Dabeerul-Mamalik of Munshiul Mumalik, in conformity with the nature of the work he performed. He was charged with the important functions of official correspondence. He was an intermediary officer between the king on the one side and the entire bureaucracy of the state as well as the state subjects on the other. He issued royal edicts and made suitable arrangements for their promulgation. He also received the petitions of the state subjects and submitted them to the king. His office was analogical to the present post of Private Secretary. Khaja Muzaffer Ali and Moulana Owais discharged these duties in the reigns of Sultan Mohammed and Abdullah Qutub Shah respectively. The Royal edicts were, for the benefit of the Muslim and Hindu subjects, issued in two languages, Persian as well as Telugu. A learned Brahmin was appointed for the

1—Wilson's Glossary, p. 371.

Telugu rendering of the farmans. Etemad Rao, the learned Brahmin was entrusted with the work of Telugu farmans known as the Farman[1] Hindvi. Dabeer was assisted by another officer known as the "Shuruh Navis" شروع نویس or Record Keeper. He was probably the Supirentendent of the Department of Correspondence.[2]

KOTWAL.

Kotwal was the Commissioner of Police charged with the important duties of maintaining law and order. He was responsible for the peace and security of the city, especially when the state was threatened by political insecurities and subversive activities. According to the French travellers, the police service of the Qutub Shahi kingdom was highly efficient. Thevenot pays eloquent tribute to the vigilance of the state police. According to him, no foreigner was admitted within the limits of the city without permission, and once admitted, the foreigners were strictly controlled and their whereabouts and bag and baggage were closely checked up and scrutinized.[3] Tavernier also speaks in high terms of the law and order in the country and the efficiency of the police department.[4]

SARKHAIL.

Besides such high officials as ministers and deputy ministers, there were minor officers as well who helped in the smooth conduct of the civil and military administration. The Sarkhail and Sarkhail-Shahi were petty military officers. The

1—Saidi, p. 31.

2—Grand Duff, Vol. I, p. 184 Wilson's Glossary, p. 491.

3—Thevenot, Vol. III, p. 97.

4—Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 125.

latter commanded the royal body-guards. Both of them worked under Ainul-Mulk, the army minister.

HAVALDAR.

Havaldars were civil officers who looked after the royal stores and stables of horses and elephants. All these officials, high and low, were subject to strict discipline and were liable to punishment for negligence of duty. Mustafa Khan and Mirza Mohammed Amin were dismissed by Ibraheem and Sultan Mohd. for their misbehaviour and remissness.

JUDICIARY.

The kingdom had no legislative organ and no law was enacted in the modern sense of law-making with the exception of the regulations that were laid down either by custom and usage or by royal edicts.[1] The old customs and royal edicts formed the bulk of the state laws which guided the state administration and destinies of the people. But the Qutub Shahs had their own judicial system and an organised department of justice. The king was supposed to be the fountain of justice with Muslim divines and Hindu pandits to help him in the dispensation of justice. Although justice was administered in the capital as well as the local units by the Qazies and Pandits,[2] yet the king himself took personal interest in the matter. Mohd. Quli and Abdullah were particularly noted for their high sense of justice. The former had constructed Dad Mahal, the palace of justice, devoted entirely to the dispensation of justice, the grandeur of which never failed to win the admiration and attract the attention of the foreign travellers. It faced the main throughfare of the city and justice-seekers were accorded free entry to represent their grievances direct

1—Relations of Golcunda, p. 82.
2—Ibid, p. 82.

to the king. The building was renewed by his successor, Sultan Mohd. after it had been damaged by lightning and rain. But the latter had constructed another building named Aman Mahal, the asylum of peace for the purpose. It served as a sanctuary for all those who were oppressed and down-trodden. The system continued throughout the Qutub Shahi period and every king took keen interest in the matter. Even the easy going king like Abdullah was no exception. Tavernier who had visited the kingdom in his reign, gives an interesting account of how justice was dispensed with by the king. He says that the king appeared on the balcony of the palace and people were allowed to gather in the open space, not as an unruly mob but in an orderly fashion. They were required to stand in the gangway made for the purpose by means of ropes fastened to the poles pitched in the ground. The space was divided into three gangways where people took their proper position. Nobody was allowed to cross or jump over the ropes. People who sought justice were conducted through a passage which was left open in front of the balcony. But they had to cross another rope to appear before the king who stood in the balcony. As soon as the petitioner came forward, the rope was lowered by the men who were stationed there for the purpose. A minister who stood under the balcony received the petitions and when they were as many as 5 or 6, he put them in a bag which was lowered from above. A 'Khajasara' who stood beside the king on the balcony, lowered and pulled up the string and presented the petitions to the king.[1] Thevenot praises Abdullah as a just king, highly conscious of his judicial duty. Even noblemen could not evade the strong hand of law. He records a case of a nobleman who had forcibly extracted Rs. 5,000|- from a banker by using rep-

1—Tavernier, Vol. I, pp. 125-126,

ressive measures. On receiving the report, the king brought the nobleman to justice and forced him return the money.[1] Saidi records another case of Elchi Baig who did not refund the money which he had borrowed from some merchants. When the traders represented their grievances to the king he confiscated 30 or 40 thousand huns from the income of the culprit and paid the money to the traders and the balance was paid from the government treasury.[2]

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The organisation of the local government was as sound as the central structure. The kingdom was divided into a number of provinces which were governed by local officers designated as Tarafdars, following the Bahmani phraseology. They were also called Sarlashkar for their double capacity, civil as well as military. They were supposed to command the provincial forces as well in addition to their civil engagements, though the actual command devolved on a military officer known as Sarkhail. Out of the provinces which numbered 6 in the later period, Karnatak was the biggest and richest owing to its sea-ports and European Settlements. The trading companies which were installed by the European nations, yielded good revenue to the state. Having regard to the importance of the province, persons of high calibre like Neknam Khan, Khaleelullah Khan and Lingappa were selected for the governorship. As the governor was supposed to represent the king in the province, he occupied a privileged position. He had the unique distinction of having a canopy over his head at day time and was escorted with 10 torches at night.[3] The governor was

1—Thevenot, Vol. III, p. 97.

2—Saidi, p.

3—Relations of Golcunda, p. 81.

assisted by a provincial diwan who collected the provincial revenue from the contractors probably twice or thrice in the year and remitted the sum to the central treasury. The provincial Qazis and Pandits who dealt with local cases also assisted him. The provinces were divided into sarkars or districts and again the districts into samats or talukas which were also called the parganas. The latter comprised a large number of mohals or villages in their orbits. The sarkars and samats were administered on the same lines as the provinces ,with the difference that the local officers in charge of these local units were designated as Foujdars. They were assisted by Havaldars for the maintenance of law and order. The coastal towns, Madras, Pulicut and Masulipatam were controlled by powerful Havaldars because of their vulnerable position and European settlements. Besides the Qazis and Pandits who dealt with judicial cases, an additional officer known as Khateeb was charged with an important duty of promulgating state laws.[1] All these officers were paid from the central treasury which helped in extending the central control. Besides, the king and his ministers made official tours in the districts and brought the central government in close contact with the local units. Abul Hasan Qutub Shah and his minister, Madanna inspected the Karnatak province four times during the reign.

REVENUE COLLECTION.

As far as the revenue collection was concerned, the Qutub Shahi government followed an auction system, that is, the districts were given in charge of private contractors to realize the land rent from the peasantry and remit the stipulated sum to the central treasury. These contractors who were mostly Hindus, held the districts for a year with both

1—Relations of Golcunda, p. 57.

civil and criminal jurisdiction. When the term expired, the districts were again auctioned publicly and were given to the highest bidder. Even the sea-ports were placed under the charge of the contractors. They used their full authority as actual rulers and took any action they liked. They were free to extort exorbitant rates from the peasantry, out of which they paid into the treasury the stipulated sum and misappropriated the rest. But the government money which was paid in three instalments during the year was realized without fail. No contractor was given quarter for their failure. Whenever they failed to advance the government money they were severely punished, belaboured and even trampled to death under the feet of elephants. The case of Wasveli Rao who had taken the contract of Masulipatam is a glaring example of the government's strict policy. He was beaten to the extent that he became unconscious.[1] It is evident that the system brought ruin to the larger parts of the state and impoverished the peasantry. Numerous districts were depopulated and peasantry was reduced to sore straits inspite of the furtility of the soil. Most of the wealthy classes had concealed their accumulated wealth underground to avoid extortion. But the system was discarded by Madanna after his assumption of charge of premiership in the reign of Abul Hasan. The contractors were replaced by government officers and revenue was collected directly which brought unbounded prosperity to the state. The division of the kingdom into sarkars and samats was this. There were 6 Provinces, 37 Sarkars and 517 Samats in the reign of Abul Hasan.

THE MILITARY ORGANIZATION.

The military organization of the Qutub Shahi kingdom which included the recruitment of soldiers and formation

1—Relations of Golcunda, pp. 11,57,81.

and accoutrement of armies and the maintenance and effective control of forts, was as perfect as the civil. Although the organization, in its outer structure, appeared to be a copy of the Bahmani prototype yet, in details, it was so modified as to suit the geographical and political conditions of the time. In imitation of the Bahmani system the whole army of the state was never stationed in the capital but the provinces were also allowed to have their quota under their respective governors so as to meet any emergency either within or without. The provincial forces were intended both to maintain law and order within the provinces and to resist outside encroachment till such time as the central government was informed and necessary reinforcement was despatched therefrom. In the absence of the means of communications and effective intelligence service which characterised the medieval period, it was very difficult for the central government to keep in touch with the distant parts and meet any emergency. The provincial forces so stationed filled up the gap and relieved the extra anxiety of the central government.

From the very beginning when the Qutub Shahi kingdom came into existence, it needed a large military organization for its consolidation and expansion. Apart from the consideration of law and order which was a pressing problem in almost all the Telangana districts where theft and robbery were rampant and Telanga robbers had become notorious for their criminal outrages, the territorial expansion of the kingdom was the foremost need which attracted the attention of all the Qutub Shahs. The Telangana province which was originally entrusted to Sultan Quli Qutub Shah was confined within the narrow limits of Koheer and Warangal; the Eastern districts which lay beyond Warangal, and which were annexed in the

last days of Mohammed Shah Lashkari had, soon after his death, receded to their former possessors. Sultan Quli Qutub Shah had, therefore, a great task ahead namely to extend his kingdom to its natural limits. To quote his own words, it took him sixty years before he succeeded in completing the scheme of expansion.[1] Secondly, the new-born kingdom was encircled by the contemporary kingdoms of Ahmednagar and Bijapur in the North and the West respectively and by Vijayanagar in the South. They were equally powerful and threatened inter-state wars. It was obvious that the kingdom of Golcunda could not hope to survive in the midst of her mighty neighbours without a strong and an efficient army. The kingdom had to take part in the inter-state wars that were being waged quite frequently on the Deccan Tableland, and in 1565 she had to participate in the battle of Talicota. Furthermore, the extinction of Vijayanagar opened a new venue of conquests which called for further military preparations on the part of Bijapur and Golcunda. A number of extensive and rich tracts of Karnatak, which were once included in the forgotten Empire were added to Golcunda since the reign of Ibraheem down to Abdullah's.

Thanks to the contemporary authorities and foreign travellers who had visited Golcunda in later years, we have got substantial information about the military organisation of the Qutub Shahi Kingdom. As far as the total strength of the army is concerned, nothing is known about the earlier period. It may, however, be assumed that the strength varied from time to time until it rose to 5 lacs in the later period. It is not possible to trace the exact number of troops that were provided for by the central government on the occasion when Sultan Quli Qutub Shah was appointed as the governor of

1—Qutub Shahi History, Asafia Library Copy, p. 50.

the Telugu Province in 1496 nor we know about the troops he employed thereafter. As the province was restive owing to the outrages committed by robbers and there were plans for its further expansion, it may be presumed that a larger body of fighting forces might have been provided for the provincial needs. Sultan Quli had to fight many odds both within and without during the long span of the sixty years' of his carrier, both as a governor and a king. He not only extended his territories from Warangal to Masolipatam but also helped the Bahmani government by timely despatch of reinforcement in the time of his patron, Mohammed Shah Bahmani. His successor, Jamsheed who had encountered many hostile camps on different occasions, cannot be said to have conducted his government without a strong army. The prosperous reigns of Ibraheem Qutub Shah and that of his son, Mohd. Quli Qutub Shah that began from 1550, mark fresh vigour and vitality, with successful efforts for cultural uplift and better defence of the kingdom. The kingdom was organised by the introduction of civil and military institutions and by raising the strength and standard of the army to the fullest needs of the state with the result that perfect peace prevailed internally and externally, and the kingdom was now strong enough to defend herself against any aggression.

With the rise of the Mughal power in the North in the middle of the sixteenth century, the Qutub Shahs had to face new problems and adopt new defensive measures equal to the occasion. The sweeping advance of the Mughal army against Ahmednagar and the extinction of the latter signified a growing menace of Mughal domination in the South. Despite their acceptance of a subordinate position, the surviving kingdoms of Golcunda and Bijapur were invaded by Prince Aurangzeb in 1656-57, who happened to be the governor of the

Deccan at that time. Although the siege was withdrawn compulsorily in compliance with the Imperial order, yet it never helped in mitigating the apprehension which the poor kingdoms entertained about the future course of events. The kingdoms had to be alert to the hostile movements of the North and strengthen themselves to resist any possible aggression. It was in these circumstances that the military establishment of the Qutub Shahs was placed on a new footing, and the level of military efficiency was raised. Golcunda not only cared for her own security, but also she strained her every nerve to save the sister kingdoms of Ahmednagar and Bijapur, with whom was linked up her future destiny.

According to the French traveller, Thevenot who had visited Golcunda in 1655-68, the Qutub Shahi Army numbered 5 lakhs, comprising both feudal and standing forces.[1] He clearly states that the fief-holders of Golcunda, who were supposed to supply the bulk of the army, failed to provide their stipulated quota and, therefore, half the number was supplemented by the central government at its own expense.[2] The statement further shows that the kingdom, in its earlier period, lacked the system of maintaining a standing army paid by the central treasury, whereas it depended very much on the feudal forces supplied by jagirdars. As a matter of fact, in the long period of 100 years extending over three reigns of Sultan Quli, Jamsheed and Ibraheem, the conception of a standing army is hardly traceable. It was only in the later generations and specially during the reigns of Abdullah and his son-in-law, Abul Hasan, which began from 1634, that the idea of maintaining a standing army slowly crept in owing to the inefficiency of the feudal army as also

1—Thevenot, Travels, Asafia Copy, pp. 102-103.
2—Thevenot, Travels, Asafia Copy, p. 103.

the default on the part of the feudal lords to supply armed soldiers on occasions of necessity. The reigns of Abdullah and his successor marked the recruitment of a standing army which was directly paid by the central government. The advance of the Mughal armies under the leadership of Shahjahan, which coincided with the accession of Abdullah Qutub Shah, was quite an alarming news and had urged the latter to make elaborate preparations for the defence of his kingdom. Abdullah's biographer, Nizamuddin Saidi, says that the king of Golcunda had advanced a large sum of 50,000 huns to Nawab Sharif-ul-Mulk to recruit a fresh army and to be prepared for any emergency.[1] Two years later the same king advanced a similar amount to Mansoor Khan, who was in charge of Guntur, officially known as Murtuzanagar, to restore order in the district by the recruitment of a fresh standing army.[2]

Thevenot is definite in his statement that king Abdullah paid salaries to the members of his fighting forces out of his own pocket.[3] If a later authority is to be relied upon, Abul Hasan had also raised an efficient body of Troops, 40,000 strong, at his own expense and his prime minister, Madannah had maintained his own cavalry, which numbered 10,000. In addition to the main body, the Qutub Shahs also maintained a separate body of troops called the "Khasa-Khail" خاصہ خیل As the term denotes, it was originally intended to serve as a body-guard but it was, however, on several occasions, employed on active service in both offence and defence. According to one authority, the Khasa-khail consisted of 6,000 soldiers[4] and according to another, it was

1—Saidi Nizamuddin, Hyderabad Edition, p. 65.

2—ibid, p. 72.

3—Thevenot, p. 97.

4—Saidi, p. 97.

40,000 strong.[1] It is not possible to ascertain as to how the army was allocated between the capital and the provinces. According to Tarikh-e-Zafra, the forces that were stationed in the capital during the time of the last King, numbered 55,000 horsemen and 96,000 foot-soldiers, while there was a saparate European Guard[2] consisting of one lakh soldiers. Taking these figures to be correct, the strength of the provincial forces can easily be envisaged. According to one reference, however, the Karnatak Province, owing to its vicinity to the sea-shore and its contact with the European settlements, was provided with a strong army of 40,000 which was commanded by Mir Jumla and Neknam Khan.[3] The former who was engaged in the conquest of Southern Karnatak, had also employed a strong cavelry of 5,000 at his own expense. The Northern province too which commanded a strategic position must have been greatly strengthened owing to the growing menace of the Mughals.

There is no doubt that the standing army which was directly paid by the central treasury, had formed the mainstay of the kingdom in later times, but the feudal army too continued as usual and received fresh impetus at every stage. The Qutub Shahi History gives clear reference of these feudal irregulars that were headed by the feudal lords, both in time of war and peace. When Ibraheem proceeded to Golcunda from his exile at Vijayanagar, he met 4,000 horsemen who had joined the prospective king. This army was feudal in character and was maintained by the fief-holders.[4] Even Abdullah Qutub Shah, whose reign marked

1—Mahnama, Asafia Copy, p. 317.
2—Tarik-i-Zafra, Hyderabad edition, p. 175; Aali, Nimat Khan, p. 39
3—Vestiges of Old Madras, Vol. I, p. 213.
4—Qutub Shahi, Asafia Copy, p. 135.

the employment of regulars on a large scale, was not unmindful of the time-honoured tradition of the feudal army and valued the loyal services of his jagirdars. He always remained on the look out for able-bodied persons who were noted for their good physique, appearance and valour, and conferred on them rich jagirs for the purpose of maintaining efficient campaigners. More often than not, the fief-holders were also allowed annual cash grants in addition to the assignment of jagirs. For instance, Ali Khan Baig Afshar, Mohammed Said Baig Badakhshani, Syed Babu and Makdoom Mulk Dakhani, were the new nominees who were created fief-holders by Abdullah and were asked to employ fresh forces.[1] The feudal army was fully equipped with arms and ammunition and was frequently presented to the king for inspection and perscrutation.[2]

The Qutub Shahi army was composed of both Muslim and Hindu soldiers alike. The Muslims comprised many races like the Deccanis, Persians and Turks.[3] The Deccanis belonged to the old Turkish extraction, whose ancestors had settled in the Deccan as "Centurians" at the time of the Khalji kings and formed good soldiers. They were noted for their physical valour and swordsmanship, and they probably stood in the front ranks of the fighting forces. Syed Babu, Makdoom and Bari Khan were the prominent Deccani officers, who represented this class during the reign of Abdullah.[4] As for the Turks, Persians and Afghans, they were foreigners who had come to the Deccan from time to time. Their influx continued throughout the Qutub Shahi

1—Saidi, Nizamuddin, p. 94.
2— „ „ pp. 65 and 94.
3— „ „ pp. 65 and 72.
4— „ „ p. 94

period, from the beginning to the end. Great persons like Ali Khan Baig Afshar and Mohammed Sa'id Baig, represented this class in Abdullah's time.[1] The Hindu soldiers chiefly consisted of the local people who were called the Telangas, and some were also Rajputs. The Telangas were enrolled mostly as foot-soldiers and formed the bulk of the infantry. Almost all the forts situated in the kingdom were garrisoned by these local people. In the last reign of Abul Hasan, we find a reference to the European Troops, probably Englishmen, who were called the رکابیہ فرنگی "European Guard," which is said to be one lac strong : it incurred an annual expenditure of 884477 Huns.[2] The Europeans might have been taken in the Qutub Shahi service in the previous reign of Abdullah and the number was increased in the later reign, when the kingdom came in close contact with the English settlements of Masolipatam and Madras.

The Muslim soldiers who were required to maintain two horses each along with a number of camp-followers were paid ten huns, and the local people who served as foot-soldiers were paid two huns each per mensem.[3] All the troops both cavalry and infantry were fully armed and were clad in gaudy uniforms. The horsemen wore red turbans, cloaks, and coats of mail and helmets and they were armed with swords and spears. The foot-soldiers put on red trousers, black turbans and carried swords and lances. The soldiers in Karnatak were clad in shorts, sometimes clothed with red trousers and black coats and they were armed with swords.

1—Saidi p. 94.

2—Tarikh-i-Zafra, p. 174. A hun was worth 5 rupees of the Mughal Currency. p 175.

3—Thevenot, part III, p. 100.

The Telangas were dressed in their usual dhotis, coats, and turbans. The Naikwadis who were petty officers and commanded a different corps, were dressed in costly uniforms.[1]

The military forts that were situated throughout the length and breadth of the kingdom were very carefully maintained and controlled. Their number is said to be 66; built on natural hills, they served as military strong-holds and watch-posts, of which Konda Veeru, Kondapalli, Koilcunda, Ghanpura, Pangal, Khammameth and Kolas were quite big and were reputed for their fortifications and strength.[2] Small forts were ordinarily manned by 1200 soldiers, whereas big forts like Kondapalli and Konda Veeru and other., were garrisoned by 3,000 to 4,000 horse and foot.[3] The bulk of a fort garrison comprised Telugu soldiers, who were commanded by their Naiks. The forts were so strictly watched and supervised that no one, nor even the Naiks could enter at night without royal permission. If any naik happened to leave the fort during the day time, he was required to come back before dusk, otherwise he was given no entry without royal permission. Most of the forts exchanged their messages by the movement of torches at night. Konda-palli and Konda Veeru forts, which lay 40 miles apart, frequently exchanged messages and made their direction known to each other in this way.[4]

The military department was controlled by a minister of high rank entitled the "Ainul Mulk" عین الملک The minister was held responsible for the general supervision and conduct of the department: and he maintained liaison

1—Abdul Jabbar Khan, Mahboobul Watan, p. 91.
2—Relations of Golcunda, Haklyt Society, p. 11.
3— „ „ „ p. 79.
4— „ „ „ p. 12.

between the king and the militia. Next to him was the Commander-in-Chief, entitled as 'Bakshi-ul-Mulk." بخشی الملک who recruited and formed the army and was held responsible for all military movements. He was the executive officer directly in touch, not with the administrative department, but with the army itself, whereas Mir Jumla disbursed the salaries. The royal body-guard was commanded by another officer, known as the "Sar Khail" سر خیل Mulla Mohammed Taqi Tafreshi entitled as Sharif-ul-Mulk was the famous Sar Khail, who commanded the guard in Abdullah's reign. Besides, the kings also took keen interest in the military department and inspected the armies in person. There are many references in history about the royal inspection of the army. In the city of Hyderabad, the Qutub Shahi army passed the Dilkushah Maidan and the king viewed it from Dad Mahal Palace. Further more, almost all the Qutub Shahi kings led the military expeditions and took the field in person. The provincial forces were left in charge of their respective governors, and hence they were called "Sar Lashkars," i. e. the commanders. There was also a provincial military officer, who looked after the military affairs under the governor. The kingdom was divided into six provinces of which Karnatak was the biggest and most strategic. This province was governed by persons like Mohammed Saeed Mir Jumla, Neknam Khan, Mohammed Ibraheem Khalilullah Khan, Akkannah and Chinappa.

SOCIETY AND CULTURE.

The private and public life of the people of Golcunda was not without refinement of culture. Refinement of taste and manners was noticed in almost all the classes of the people and in all their walks of life. The society, as a matter of fact, was influenced by the exaltation and magnanimity of

the life of those who belonged to the royal household or to the nobility. The lofty ideas of Golcunda kings and noblemen are manifest in their buildings some of which are still extant. Even their residential quarters were as magnificent and gorgeously decorated as the darbar halls. A Mughal prince who had assumed the reins of the Hyderabad government as governor opened his mouth and was lost in wonder when he saw the splendour of the royal buildings which, according to him, were too spacious to be furnished and illuminated. The pomp and pageantry which surrounded the royal durbars also marked the royal processions. The king, dressed up to the nines, rode a colourfully embellished elephant, escorted by a large number of troops and retainers and was also accompanied by noblemen and grandees of the state, who rode either on horses or were carried in palanquins.[1] The life of the nobility was equally high and expensive. They lived a life of affluence, resided in palatial buildings and moved about in processions which looked as impressive as those of the king. They were carried in palanquins escorted by a large number of retainers, with elephants and camels.[2]

Tavernier gives an interesting description of these processions. Elephants with banners flying and rows of camels and carriages moved in the front, then followed the palanquin in which the nobleman was seated. The rest of the bodyguard consisting of cavaliers and infantrymen came in the rear.[3] The middle class also lived a decent and gracious life. Hyderabad was the biggest city of the Medievel age with a large number of dwelling houses numbering about two

1—Relations of Golcunda, p. 56.

2—Thevenot, p. 103.

3—Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 126

lacs. If four individuals as average may be supposed to dwell in each house the population will rise to 8 lacs. We can understand why a Mughal historian speaks of the city as a 'wonder,' with its population beyond computation and the height of the buildings above imagination.[1] The houses of noble class people were provided with all amenities and decencies of life. The household vessels and utensils are described as of gold and silver. Glassware was also in common use. Houses were lit up with lamps and chandaliers made of glass which were imported from outside and were available in Hyderabad and Masulipatam markets.[2] The sack and pillage of Hyderabad which took place in 1686 and in which thousands of household articles, gold and silver vases, clothes of silk and gold, rich Persian carpets and glass-ware were plundered and thrown in the streets, bears testimony to the height of culture which Hyderabad had attained.[3] When they witnessed the precious carpets and other valuable articles lying on roads, even the Mughals were lost in wonder.[4]

DRESS.

There was no uniformity in dress. It varied from class to class. The Mughals and Persians who formed a considerable part of the Hyderabad population put on their own national dress, whereas the old Deccani class followed their own style. Although the members of the royal family stuck to their old Turkish style in their early days, yet they developed a local outlook in later years. Mohd. Quli Qutub Shah who was the 5th king in the line had discarded his Turkish dress, and adopted pure Deccani style. He put on a Deccani

1—Saqui, Maasir Alamgiri, p. 302.
2—Relations of Golcunda, p. 62.
3—Relations of Golcunda, p. 62.
4—Khafi Khan, Vol. II, p. 306

turban instead of Turkish samura cap and loose jacket of linen instead of woollen coats. What is more curious about his dress is that he shaved his beard and put on jewels and wore bracelets on his arms according to the Telangana fashion.[1] His poetry which depicts his impressions about the life and culture of the Telugu society shows his sympathy with the local life and traditions. The Golcunda people were tall, fair and well dressed. The middle classes wore jackets of fine linen and put on either white or coloured turban of Deccani style as their head-gear. They were armed with different weapons. Every one was skilled in the use of swords and sticks which was characteristic of the social life of the Deccan. The courtiers who attended royal durbars were required to put on Deccani dastars, used belts round their waist as their official and court dress. The Hindu population wore their own dress which was in vogue from time immemorial. The Karnatak Hindus wore long locks of hair.[2]

It is very difficult to have a fair appreciation of public morality. Yet, there is evidence to show that the general life was marked by good manners and discipline. People in general were well-behaved and possessed gentlemanly character. They had indeed a passion for learning. The large number of books and household articles that were plundered in the sack of Hyderabad testifies to the people's zest for knowledge. Numerous mosques in the city and suburbs indicate a religious bent of mind and learning of the people but, at the same time, the public life was in no way free from extravagances, which were the natural corrolaries of a green and

1—Mr. Yezdani's article in "The Urdu" of 1921. This description of Mohd. Quli has been given after a painting of the said king which is extant in the British Mesuem.

2—Taverner, Vol. I, p. 127.

advanced civilisation. The dissipate life of the nobility was responsible for this moral depression. The public demoralisation may be traced to the reign of Mohd. Quli who was a little inclined to dissipation. Although these evils were mostly checked in the reign of his successor, Sultan Mohd. who led an ultra abstemious life, yet the successive Bohemian reigns of Abdullah and Abul Hasan relaxed the control. Abdullah was fond of music and dance and revelled in singing parties Not only the local dancers were patronized but an influx was allowed from other places such as Ahmedabad, Burhanpur, Agra and Lahore.[1] The common people held their revelries both at Golcunda and Hyderabad. Almost all the ceremonial functions, Hindu or Muslim, were accompanied with music and dance. This is why the reign of Abul Hasan was criticised by reckless historians who passed antagonistic remarks against the king. Most of the dancing girls had settled in Hyderabad and made large fortune at the expense of the public purse. Tavernier gives the number of the prostitutes living in Hyderabad as 20,000 in the reign of Abdullah. Their names were entered in a municipal register and checked by the city darughas.[2] Thevenot gives a similar number of these prostitutes. Similar conditions prevailed in the reign of Abul Hasan. The dancing girls received an annuity of 3 lacs and 24 thousand from the government treasury.[3] This is why some historians indulge in reckless criticism of Abul Hasan and his reign.

RELIGION

There were divergent religions and religious affiliations in the kingdom. The Hindus formed the bulk of the popu-

1—Saidi, p. 36.

2—Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 127.

3—Zafra, p. 175.

lation who differed from their Muslim breatheren in their religious ideals and notions of life. The Muslim community which held the sway as a ruling nation, was divided into two sections, the Sunnis and the Shias. The former who formed a major proportion of the Muslim population were mostly Deccanics, whereas the latter mostly consisted of foreigners who had migrated from Central Asia. The ruling dynasty which professed the Shia creed belonged to the latter group. But it is a bright feature of the Qutub Shahi kings that they were absolutely free from religious bias. They believed in strict secularism transcending all religious and cultural barriers. The first three kings, Sultan Quli, Jamsheed and Ibraheem were ultra catholic in their religious views. They declared no state religion of their own about left the matter of religion to the freewill and free conscience of the people. They never allowed their religion to be polluted by sectarian bigotry and narrow sympathies. They, on the other hand, admitted all sections of the population, Hindu and Muslim, Shia and Sunni in their political and social fold without the distinction of caste or creed. Hindu subjects were in full enjoyment of social and religious rights and had lucrative endowments for their temples. They were also eligible to higher posts of the State. Sunni subjects stood in the same line with the Shias. We know that Sultan Quli had joined the punitive expedition against Yousuf Adil Khan of Bijapur who had declared Shia faith as the state religion, despite the fact that Sultan Quli had professed the same faith. Ibraheem Qutub Shah was highly cosmopolitan in his religious views. A Shia though he was, he neither became a fanatical enthusiast nor allowed preferential treatment to his sect. He was as liberal to the Hindus and Sunnis as to the Shias. One of his wives came of a venerable family of Gulbarga and the son born of that

wife was named Shah Abdul Qader. He also gave the hands of his daughters to persons belonging to the Sunni faith. Husain Shah Wali and Shah Qutbuddin, eminent sufies of his age, were his sons-in-law. But the subsequent reign of Mohd. Quli Qutub Shah witnessed a departure from the above policy.

It was unfortunate that Mohd. Quli Qutub Shah's religious policy was at variance with that of his ancestors. Mohd. Quli was not in the habit of taking a broader view as his ancestors did. He, no doubt, pursued a more liberal policy towards his Hindu subjects than even his ancestors, but he was not liberal to the various sects of Islam other than the Shias. He was a bigotted Shia and was very enthusiastic for mourning rites and for installations of 'Alams' in Muharram. These innovations which continue to this day and are enthusiastically observed are reminiscent of his reign and not of his ancestors.[1] Hussaini Alam in Golcunda was installed by him for the first time. He bestowed his favours on the Shia community at the expense of the Sunnis. He hated the Sunnis to the extent that he villified them openly as unbelievers and his anti-Sunni remarks and feelings abound in his poems.[2] This seems to be the sectarian view which underlay his alignment with the Shia State of Persia. Mohd. Quli was the first king of Golcunda to start diplomatic relations with the Persian court and regarded the Persian monarch as his over lord. The king also invited Persian families to settle down in Hyderabad in order to safeguard his interests. It was in the Shia families that he put more trust and confidence than the other sects. They were not only colonized in Hyderabad all around the royal palaces but they were also given ample opportunities

1—Saidi, p. I, p. 41.
2—Dr. Zore, Life of Mohammed Quli, p. 92.

to make use of trade and banking at Hyderabad and Masulipatam.[1] Most of the Shia families who now reside at Hyderabad and Masulipatam trace their origin to Mohammed Quli's reign.

But this change of religious policy and the sectarian spirit was bound to bring about many repurcussions in its wake. It caused general resentment in the Sunni population which developed into a revolt against the bigotted government. Mohammed Quli had to encounter two serious insurrections led by his two brothers, Shah Abdul Qadir and Khuda Banda and the said princes were backed by the Deccani element and by religious heads like Shah Raju I and Shah Muhibulla of Bidar[2] These rebellions, took the shape of political and racial conflicts as well. They displayed racial animosity between the Deccanis and the foreigners.[3] Although the insurrections were quelled to the satisfaction of the king, yet, they never failed to poison the pleasant atmosphere of the kingdom. It caused a sad cleavage between the Muslim

1—Relations of Golcunda, pp. 56-78; Mahnama, p. 193.

2—Shah Saheb was declared dead by the king and his dignitares, who in response to the king's enquiry confirmed the death and therefore the uprising of the prince had no legal or moral support. He was damned as a false pretender. Mohd. Quli requested the Bidar Government to arrest and extradite him to Golcunda. At this the religious heads of Bidar helped him to escape to Vijayanagar, wherefrom he invaded Golcunda with a band of sympathisers and was defeated at Pangal. (Qutub Shahi pp. 267-268). But it seems to be a distortion of facts and the invader was most probably the real Shah Saheb, who took refuge at Bijapur after his defeat.

3- Qutub Shahi p. 294. Dr, Zor, The Life of Mohammed Quli pp. 90-91,

sects. But the political conditions were brought to normalcy in the later reigns of Sultan Mohammed, Abdulla and Abul Hasan. These rulers followed the time-honoured policy and revived the old non-sectarian spirit to a great extent.

CHAPTER XX

THE ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Golcunda was an extensive kingdom with fertile lands and rich mineral resources. Taking into consideration the physical conditions and nature of the soil, the kingdom may be divided into two zones: the parallelogram of the Coromandal Coast including the fertile regions drained by the Krishna and the Godavari, and the interior covering the Eastern Ghats and the Deccan Plateau. Both the zones were fertile and productive, as is borne out by the remark of Aurangzeb that یک قطعہ زمین بے مزرع نیست "no tract of land is left uncultivated."[1] Foreign travellers too expressed their admiration of the productivity of the soil. Although the peasantry was, in the early period, greatly handicapped by the defective system of land revenue yet, subsequently, better administration removed the hardship. Barren villages were populated and new tanks and wells were constructed. The country yielded good harvest in almost all cereals and pulses. Wheat, rice, millet, bajra, pulses, gram, masur, tur and til grew in abundance. The cash crops namely cotton, tobacco, castor-seeds as also toddy formed great sources of revenue. Fruits were grown, in many varieties. Mangoes, bannanas, lemons, oranges, pomegranates, pineapples and guava were commonly grown.[2] The forests also yielded good income.

1—Remarks of Anrangzeb when he visited the kingdom as governor of the Deccan (Letters of Aurangzeb by Najib Ashraf).

2—Relations of Golcunda, p. 85,

They abounded in timber and wild animals. Tiger, elephant, bear, leopard, monkey, deer and spotted deer were common in Telangana forests. Thus the kingdom possessed rich sources of revenue through all its six provinces. The provinces were divided into 37 sirkars (districts) and sirkars into 517 Parganas (Taluks).

Besides the agricultural land and the forests, Golcunda was blessed with lucrative mines of diamonds and other minerals, which brought to the kingdom undounded wealth and prosperity. Golcunda was particularly famous for its diamonds all over the world. None of the Deccan Sultanates except Golcunda could claim such a mineral wealth. And that is the reason why Golcunda was known as the "Country of Diamonds."[1] It cannot be definitely established when and how the diamond mines were discovered in the kingdom. A tradition has it that diamonds were noticed only by accident and that happened in the early days of the 17th century.[2] It is probable that mines were originally noticed during the reign of Sultan Mohd. Qutub Shah, but they were definitely discovered in the time of Abdullah Qutub Shah. It was in this period that the government took cognizance of this source of revenue and brought the industry under its proper control. By and by, more mines were discovered in the southern districts of Karnatak. The miners had become so expert in

1—Thevenot, part III, p. 98.

2—According to William Methold, who had come to Indian in 1615 as a servant of the British Company, a shepherd, while tending a flock of sheep, noticed a piece of diamond. His foot struck against a stone which he picked up and found it unusually glittering. He then sold it for a little amount (Relations of Golcunda p. 30). This was the reign of Sultan Mohd. Qutub Shah and therefore the discovery may be ascribed to this reign.

their art that they could trace out diamonds by means of the nature, smell and colour of the mound.[1] When Mohd. Saeed, the Meer Jumla, conquered Kadappa, Sidwhot, and Kandikota, new mines were discovered and diamonds worth millions of rupees were unearthed. The abundance of diamonds can be judged by the fact that they were counted by bags and not by numbers. Mohd. Saeed had earned a large number of diamonds worth millions of rupees, which he had presented to Shah Jehan, along with a big diamond which weighed 360 carats.[2] All these diamonds were collected from Karnatak. It is no exaggeration to say that most of the big diamonds now extant in the world, were born in Golsunda kingdom. Abdullah Qutub Shah and his successor, Abul Hasan Qutub Shah both possessed innumerable diamonds in their jewellery storage which weighed not less than 300 carats. Abdullah's crown was studded with the best of diamonds.[3]

According to Tavernier who gives a good account of the Golcunda mines, there were twenty three mines in the kingdom. Some of them were situated in Telangana and a few in Karnatak.[4] Kondapalli which lies close to the Krishna river and Narsapur which is situated about 39 miles from Rajahmandry were rich in diamond mines. Narsapur had the best type of mines which yielded diamonds of bigger size and superior quality. When Golcunda was brought under

1— Relations of Golcunda, p. 32.

2—Manucci, Vol. I, p. 237 (Qirath or Carat is the 24th part of an ounce).

3—Travels of Thevenot, Part III; he has much praise for the diamonds that adorned the crown of the king. p. 102.

4— They were all scattered and situated at different places. Details have been omitted for the sake of brevity. Tavernier, Vol. II, p. 56.

the Mughal suzerainty during the reign of Abdullah Qutub Shah, the Mughal Emperor cast his covetous eyes on Narsapur, and therefore the Narsapur mines were put out of u.c.[1] Kandikota and Kollur which formed parts of Karnatak, possessed a large number of mines where twenty thousand people used to work. These labourers were employed for different types of work; some of them performed the work of digging, others removed loads of earth and some extracted water. As a result of the mining activities, these places which were once desolate and barren became thickly populated.[2] At Kandikota alone, Mohammed Saeed had employed twelve hundred workers for the mining work.[3] These mines yielded enormous wealth and formed the greatest source of income to Golcunda. Some of the mines were reserved for the personal use of the king. According to William Methold, all diamonds weighing more than ten carats were reserved for the king who used to appoint special officers to protect them from theft and embezzlement. But even these stringent measures failed to check thefts.[4] The mines were usually given to traders and contractors on lease who carried on the mining work subject to the government royalty. The diamonds were brought in the market for sale. The contractors were required to pay the royalty at the rate of one hun per hour for each mine, irrespective of the yield.[5] Mines were also leased out for an yearly rent of three lak huns.[6] Besides the diamonds, the Golcunda mines also yielded iron-ore and lead which were

1—Relations of Golcunda, p. 33.
2—Relations of Golcunda, p. 31.
3—Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 230.
4—Relations of Golcunda, pp. 32-33.
5—Thevenot, Part III, p. 102.
6—Relations of Golcunda, p. 32.

exported in large quantity. The iron-ore and steel of Golcunda was very famous abroad for their quality. Foreign travellers speak highly of the abundance of iron and steel as also of their fame and demand in distant places. This steel was exported to the Punjab and Persia and the Damaskas swords which were world known for their quality were manufactured from the Golcunda steel.[1]

Golcunda was undoubtedly an agricultural country: yet it was not devoid of trade and industry. The advent of the Qutub Shahi culture gave an impetus to trade and industry and various articles were manufactured to cater to the needs of the royalty, gentry and commonality. When the city of Hyderabad was founded, we come across various arts and exhibits of skilled sleight of hand which satisfied the needs of the people. Hundreds of artisans and industrialists flocked to Hyderabad and accelerated the advancement of culture. To quote a Mughal historian, there were so many "artisans, tradesmen and artists" in Hyderabad that a detailed account of them all would require a separate volume.[2] Golcunda was noted for the textile industry. Fabrics of various qualities and grades were produced throughout the kingdom. Primarily, cloth was woven only for local consumption but later, it was produced in abundance and was exported abroad. The fine and aesthetic taste of Golcunda aristocracy and gentry had also quickened the production of finer qualities of cloth and the one made at Golcunda was unique in class and kind. There was no weaving factory. The weavers used to work at home and the buyers had to make advance payments to get the work done according to their own taste and requirements. This system of production

1—Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 127.
2—Saqui Maathir-e-Alamgiri, p. 302.

helped in initiating new designs and patterns. The cloth woven in the kingdom may conveniently be divided into two varieties: one was the plain cloth which was meant for ordinary use and the other was the superfine which satisfied the needs of fashion. The plain cloth was again of various kinds: one was linen "or Tanzeb" which was meant for common purposes and the other was the stiff variety which was again of various kinds and colours and some of them were very durable. The linen was of a thinner and finer quality made in different colours and was generally woven at Warangal. Both these qualities were exported to other countries from sea ports. The stylish or the fashionable variety was produced in different patterns and colours and were commonly called the 'chit' or 'chint,' the patterned cloth. This cloth required a great skill and a technical knowledge. These chints also resembled Tanzeb but they had beautiful designs made in different colours. The plain cloth was artfully painted and named as the 'Qalamkar.' This pattered variety presented a unique art of that age and was peculiar to Golcunda alone. All colours and designs were made by means of a brush. Its colours and designs were so indelible that they did not lose their lustre even after washing and remained to the last. This cloth was only fabricated in coastal towns like Masolipatam and Narsapur, which were particularly famous for their textile industry throughout India. The patterned cloth called the 'Qalamkar' of Masolipatam was not produced in other parts of India.[1] It had earned a country wide fame and was in great demand abroad.

In addition to fabrics, metal instruments and arms made of iron deserve a detailed study. Steel of good quality was made

1—Relations of Golcunda, p. 35; Manucci, Vol. II, p. 431.

at Golcunda and arms and weapons were also manufactured. Nirmal and Indore which were situated to the north of Golcunda were centres of the steel industry. Good quality steel was here prepared.[1] According to Thevenot, swords, daggers and spears were being manufactured at Indalvai near Indore or Nizamabad and they were supplied to the markets all over India.[2] Wood cutting was another industry. Boxes and other household furniture were made of wood with fine design and polish. This industry is still in existence at Kondapalli and other towns. Narsapur on the banks of the Godavari was famous for this industry. Ships were also built in the same town. There were many factories at Narsapur which built big ships to the order of not only Muslim and Hindu merchants but also of the Portuguese. Merchandise was exported overseas in these ships. Big steamers meant for long voyages were also built here and according to Schorer, a servant of the English East India Company, even British merchants had got a steamer named the "Globe"[3] built at this centre. Indigo was prepared at Nalgoncha and exported outside.[4] Gun powder and cartridges were manufactured at Masolipatam, and the town was also famous for salt and durable masts[5] for ships and steamers.

It is a strange co-incidence that at a time when the foundation-stones of the Golcunda kingdom were being laid, the Western nations were searching for sea routes to reach the

1— Bilgrami and Wilmott, Vol. I, p. 399.

2—Travels of Thevenot, Vol. III, p. 235.

3—Relations of Golcunda, p. 63.

4—Nalgoncha was situated at a distance of twelve miles from Khammammet to the South East direction.

5— Relations of Golcunda, p. 64.

sub-continent and some of the Western nations had already set their foot on some of the coastal towns. It has to be admitted that the advent of the European nations served as a great impetus to the rise of Indian trade. The location of the Golcunda kingdom in the South Eastern part of the sub-continent which covered the Coromandal coast gave her a unique advantage to promote her trade and commerce. The Portuguese who had hailed in the 16th Century were followed by the British and the Dutch in the 17th and the establishment of their companies at Pulicut, Santhum (St. Thomas) and Masolipatam came to the scene. When these ports came under the sway of the Qutub Shahi kingdom, they proved to be of an immense help in the advancement of trade and commerce. Masolipatam which is also popularly called Machli Bander had developed into a great port during the reigns of Abdullah Qutub Shah and Abul Hasan and it more or less enjoyed the same position as Bombay does in the modern age. As a great centre of trade and commerce, it had attained the position of international importance due to the commercial activities of the English and the Dutch Cmpanies and it was through this port alone that the Qutub Shahi kingdom was known in foreign countries of both Asia and Europe. Mineral products, manufactured goods and diamonds were being exported to both the continents. The indigenous merchants used to sell foodstuff and manufactured articles in the local market and imported foreign goods. But the trade of the country received a great impetus since the advent of the Western traders. The raw material of the kingdom was being exchanged for the manufactured goods imported from abroad.

The local trade was quickned apace at the time when the Western nations began exporting local manufactures and raw

material and imported foreign manufacture. Local merchants sold their goods to the Western traders on sea ports and stocked foreign goods in exchange. It was natural that the Qutub Shahi government treated the local traders very leniently and levied no tax, and required the Westerners to exchange their goods with the local people free of tax. This patronizing attitude on the part of the government went a long way in encouraging the local trade. Yet, the encouragement was marred by the fact that indigenous trade was monopolized by the Persians who, for their religious affiliation, enjoyed greater facilities and royal patronage than the Deccanees. It appears that most of the Persian families who had settled on coastal towns, had been invited by Mohd. Quli Qutub Shah and were encouraged by the king to start business. They made large fortune and received excessive royal favours. It was due to this that they behaved very arrogantly and teased the local people.[1] Masolipatam played an important role as a centre of great commercial activities and ships used to sail to Bengal, Arakan, Pegu, Tanasaram and the Malayan Islands. These ships on their onward journey brought sugar, cloth of various qualities, rubies, sapphires, wax, gold, tin, various kinds of wood and jars, silk and pepper.[2] Some of these ships also sailed to Ceylon and Maldeo Island and brought the special products of those countries which were sold at Masolipatam to the local traders and stocked into the local market. The merchandise imported into Golcunda consisted of the following articles :—

> Pepper, Sandal-wood, lead, Chinese silk, sugar, musk, porous earthern-ware, red cloth, Chinese velvet, lac and glass wares.

1—Relations of Golcunda, pp. 56, 78.
2—ibid, p. 60.

A tax at the rate of 3¼% was imposed on imports and exports, and realised either in kind or in cash according to the discretion of the officers. These taxes were strictly imposed and realised. Besides the import and export duties, some rental was also exacted for their residence at Madras and Masolipatam. The import and export duties at Pulicut was 2%. But every ship that anchored at the port had to pay an additional tax of 15 huns. These ships ordinarily sailed to the East in September and to the West in January. Most of the ships which called at the near East Countries were owned by local traders and particularly Muslims. But the ships which sailed to Europe were owned by the Western Companies.[1]

A revenue statement relating to the reign of Abul Hasan Qutub Shah shows the yearly income of the kingdom to be 2,47,50,530 realized from land taxes. The details of this income with respect to each province and district are given below :—

Suba	Sarkar.	No of Paraganas	Income.
Suba I	Medak.	13	35,26,089- 6
	Mohd. Nagar.	12	15,37,739-13
	Kolas.	5	7,42,480- 8
	Malankor.	3	67,687
Suba II	Elgandal	21	12,19,507- 4
	Warangal.	16	7,78,491- 8
	Khammammet.	11	6,29,323-13
	Devarkonda.	13	11,19,616- 4

1—Relations of Golcunda, pp. 54-55.

Suba III	Pangal.	5	4,55,215-14
	Mustafanagar.	24	12,00,160-15
	Bhongir	11	1,47,836- 9
	Akarkar	6	5,18,228-12
Suba IV	Koel Konda.	13	10,51,517-14
	Ghanpura.	8	5,13,484- 4
	Murtuzanagar.	39	11,67,709- 4
	Masolipatam.	8	5,40,001
Suba V	Nizam Pattam	1	87,000
	Ellore.	12	6,90,448-15
	Rajmundary	24	6,27,853
	Sikakol	115	9,90,242-11
	Kanath		55,001
Suba VI	Karnatak i. e. Arkot,		
	16 Sarkars. 162 parganas.		26,75,498
			huns.[1]

The above statement shows the government revenue derived mainly from land taxes and not other sources like mines, commerce and industry. The revenue accruing from commerce and other sources formed the additional item of the Qutub Shahi budget. As far as commerce was concerned, the Kondapalli Sarkar alone yielded 40 thousand huns whereas Masolipatam did 18 thousand huns and Nizam Pattam 5 lacs and 5 thousand huns to 6 lacs and 6 thousand huns. Thus

1—Tarike-Zafra, pp. 173-174.

the total receipts of the kingdom come to Rs. 5 crores[1] and it was much more than what was actually incurred by the administration, and the surplus as saved in the treasury after defraing the administration expenses must be nearly a crore. Shore, an English correspondent shows the surplus to be only 19 lac huns or about 88 lacs of rupees, but it was most probably much more than that. It appears that most of the savings were wasted in foreign service and towards foreign adjustments. A huge amount, including costly presents had to be paid to the Mughal government by way of tribute and indemnity. Much cash was also paid to the Marathas as subsidy. Despite this constant drain, the royal treasury had an enormous amount in cash and kind which ultimately passed on to the conquerors after the fall of Golcunda. Besides the wealth that was deposited in the treasury, there were innumerable treasure-troves which were misappropriated by the successor governments.

But the common people and the aristocrats were rich and happy. The aristocratic families, both Hindus and Muslims known as Amirs, possessed 2 kinds of lands and jagirs-: one was the Madad Maash (grant-in-aid) and the other was conditional with military service. The latter kind

[1] Manucci who had come to Golcunda in the later period shows the total income of Golcunda at 5 crores. Manucci Vol. II, p. 415) Methold a servant of the British Company estimates it at 25 lac of huns or 1 crore of rupees; Schorer shows it to be 19 lacs of huns and according to others it was 17 lac huns. The last two figures may be ascribed to the early part of the period, probaoly the 17th century when the kingdom was not so prosperous as in the later part. What Methold and Schorer have noted is the surplus amount after d ducting the administrative expences. The latter has made it abundantly clear that 19 lac huns were the surplus amount: (Relations of Golcunda, pp. 10,56,77 (Manucci Vol. II, pp. 10, 56, 77).

of Jagirs served as a great source of income because the incumbents never fulfilled the conditions as demanded by law and saved money and therefore financially they were rich and affluent and led a kingly life. As for the middle classes, they comprised two communities, namely the Muslim and the Hindu. The Muslim population consisted of 2 classes, first were the traders who carried on their internal as well as foreign trade. This merchant class which was mostly of Persians, was very rich and prosperous. The Persians also carried on banking transactions and lent money. They charged 4% interest and made a fabulous wealth.[1] The other section of the Muslims lived on government service and earned their livelihood from the royal treasury.[2] They may be better off but their source of income was quite uncertain. The Hindu population consisted of three classes, namely government servants, peasants, and traders. The Hindu population had a larger share of government service. Not only the local government as well as the village administration was conducted Hindus but also the district governors as also the Mustajirs (contractors) who held the districts on lease and paid the stipulated revenue were all Hindus. They also dominated trade and mines. Government counted on Hindu officers to control the mines. The lower classes which comprised the cultivators and labourers earned good wages. There is no doubt that owing to the contract system which was in vogue from the very beginning up to the reign of Abul Hasan, the cultivators were greatly handicaped and reduced to privation. But this cannot be said of the entire peasant class. It is also probable that

1—Relations of Golcunda, p. 78.

2—A English correspondent reports that almost all the Muslims got their livelihood from the royal treasury. Relations of Golcunda, p. 78),

most of the cultivators used to hide their wealth to avoid the vexatious demands of the governors and contractors.[1] They held their savings buried in their back-yards. The artisans who worked in iron, gold and silver factories drew their wages from their shops or establishments. The iron-smith and the goldsmith was paid 3 annas per day and their servants and palanquin-bearers used to get one anna. But all of them had to pay a part of thei income to the local authorities[2] as a government levy. It appears that the labourers earned wages sufficient to meet their humble needs.

The following is a chart of market rates. It shows the market rates the cereals and other commodities were sold in the kingdom. It gives an idea of the supply and demand of the time :

Wheat	3 to 4 huns	1 khandi
Rice	1 to 1½ huns	1 khandi
Butter	7 to 10 huns[1]	1 maund 12 Seers)
Eggs	1 fenum	80 (in No.)
Pepper	25 huns	1 khandi
Nutmeg	33 to 60 huns	1 khandi
Cloves	5½ to 10 huns	1 khandi
Sandalwood	100 to 120 huns	1 khandi
Lead	17 to 20 huns	1 khandi
Tin	45 to 80 huns	1 khandi.

1—Relations of Golcunda, p. 77.

2—Ibid, p. 27.

3—Fenum or Panam was a coin which was the 16th part of a hun. There were 4 kinds of coins in the Qutub Shahi Kingdom. The

(Continued on page 361)

Alum	12 huns	1 khandi.
Bullock	1 to 2 huns	
Goat	1 to 2 fenum	
Hens or Chicken	1 hun	60 to 80 (in No.)
Chinese raw silk	40 to 45 huns	1 maund.
Musk	10 to 12 huns	1 seer.
Mercury	20 to 25 huns	1 maund.
Camphor	5 to 20 huns	1 seer.
Chinese Velvet	1 to 1¼ huns	1 yard.
Glassware	1 hun	2 to3 (Nos.)
Lac work	¾ to 1 hun	1 (in No.)
Mirrors.	They were also sold but the rate is not known.[1]	

(Continued from page 360)
highest in value was the hun which was a gold coin and was equivalent to Rs. 4/- of the Mughal Empire. The next was fenum or panam which was the 16th part of a hun and was most probably of gold. Penum was equivalent to 8 nevels and 1 Nevel, to 4 tars and 1 tar to 2 Kasu which was the lowest coin.

1—Relations of Golcunda, pp. 62-63. Thevenot part II, p. 105,

CHAPTER XXI

THE ADVANCEMENT OF LEARNING

The Qutub Shahi kingdom of Golcunda was a genuine patron of arts and sciences. The kingdom made an invaluable contribution to the cause of letters and bequeethed to posterity a vast treasure of knowledge which can never sink into oblivion. It is true that all the literary activity in th Deccan was a noble legacy of the Bahmani kings, who, by their fine palate for letters, set the whole of the Deccan aglow with the torch of learning. It is also true that the kingdom of Golcunda owed its literary passion to the Bahmani kingdom. But the intellectual progress made by the Qutub Shahs in their regime was in no way inferior to the previous age. The founder of the Qutub Shahi dynasty was a scion of a cultured and noble family of Turkestan and, as such, he brought with him a good literary savour. With the dawn of the kingdom of Golcunda, the Telangana consequently became the beehive of literary activity and the rity of Hyderabad a virtual seat of learning. It is gratifying to note that all the rulers of this kingdom, without exception, were highly educated and were great patrons of art and learning. Much as they exulted in a selfless discharge of their duties as rulers, they inculcated in no small measure a love of arts and sciences. Poets and litterateurs were equally at home with them. They even composed poetry and penned volumes in prose, with the result that literary pursuits had a fresh lease of life during their regime. Not content with this, they also catered to the general intellect

of the populace. The period witnessed the rise of numerous schools all over, where highly paid tutors were engaged to impart knowledge. The Telugu language ranked high in their estimate and they extended their patronage to this language as if it were their own tongue, with the result that every class of the population got due share from the treasures of knowledge. With this royal patronage of letters, the whole of Telangana hummed with literary fervour and acquisition of learning became the vogue of the time. It appears that within two generations, the entire kingdom was plunged into a serious campaign to root out illiteracy from amongst the rank and file of the masses. The Muslim population which constituted the ruling class, was set on the road to literary progress from the beginning and they had even accumulated vast libraries. The Hindu populace also played no truant to this ideal and it had become the practice of the day to cultivate the three R's so that they might build their official career and attain high position in the state.[1] It comes as a pleasant surprise that the Hindu subjects learned Persian simultateously with the local language as the former happened to be the official language of the State. An instance in point is the family of Madanna, all of whose members were well-versed in Persian and could easily write and decipher the royal firmans. It can safely be presumed that the country might have abounded with numerous families of the kind who learned Persian and thereby aspired for a high position in the state. The progress of the Telugu language was another plume because the Qutub Shahi Government was equally interested in the local language and sponsored its cause.

We look in vain through the annals of the reign of Sultan Quli for any literary activity, since political and defence mea-

1—Relations of Golcunda. Haklyut Society, p. 15.

sures devoured a major portion of time, more so, as these constituted the essentials of a nascent kingdom. Literary and cultural progress are corollaries only to an era of peace and security of which this epoch was sorely barren. Although Jamsheed, the successor of Sultan Quli Qutub Shah, evinced fond interest in literature, the main fountain of learning derived its sustenance from the reign of Ibraheem Quli Qutub Shah when the defences of the kingdom had been strengthened and the Qutub Shahs began to rest on their own laurels. They gave an impetus to literary endeavour, thereby opening a new avenue to glory. The reigns of Mohammed Quli Qutub Shah and Sultan Mohd. were solely devoted to literary and cultural pursuits. To be more precise, it was chiefly out of these two reigns that the entire literary genius of the Qutub Shahs gushed forth. It sounds strange that the Qutub Shahi dynasty, even during the days of her decline when her various enemies bided time to prey upon her sovereignty, strived with the same zeal as in the heyday of progress and prosperity, towards the nourishment of culture and enlightenment and it is no exaggeration to say that this kingdom continued to hold dear the cause of "sweetness and light" even when it was in the penumbra of her death. So much so that her last sovereign was found harping on the rythm of poetry even in his evil hours of confinement. Though the reign of Quli Qutub Shah was more or less divested of any literary enterprise, his capital nevertheless boomed with scholars and literary magnates. At least this much can be safely said that he had formed a literary club known as *"Aash Khana"* where all men of letters used to assemble.[1] His successor, Jamsheed Quli Qutub Shah showed a keen aptitute for poetic compositions. He was a poet of rare merits and wrote verses under

1—Dr. S. M. Zore, Shah Pare.

the pseudonym of "Jamsheed." At times, he delved into extempore recitations of poetry. On one occasion when he was presented with kingly honours on behalf of Nizam Shah, he returned his appreciation in fine extempore verse. Beside this, he composed numerous other works of poetry in calm moments, which he used to spend away from the humdrum of the office of kingship. The author of Tarike Qutub Shahi has transcribed certain couplets which are examples of an easy and affable narrative.[1]

With the reign of Ibraheem Quli Qutub Shah, when the foundation of the kingdom had been firmly laid, ushered in an era of patronage of arts and sciences. It appears that Ibraheem was a man of polite learning and liberal education and also bore a love to knowledge. He rallied round him a galaxy of erudites and scholars and made the best of time

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1—Some of the couplets are quoted below:

قصیدہ

اے بتو ختم ملک زیبائی کار عشق از تو یافت بالائی
کاکل و چین زلف و خال لبت هر یکے در کمال رعنائی
درره عشق هر که پا بنهاد آخر او سر کشد به رسوائی

غزل - ۱

بے لب لعل بتان بادہ حرام است مرا
لب میگون بتمان چو سر جام است
باسر زلف تو سودائے سیاهے دارم
اینچه سود است که بازلف چو شام است مرا
ترک این کار نخواهم من ببدل کردن
من که جمشیدم و این کار تمام است مرا الخ

in their company. These select men of light and learning accompanied the king even on his tour and interesting discourses used to take place. The author of Tarike-Qutub shahi says that "the learned conferred with the king even when the latter was on his tour of the dominions and enlivened his company by their palatable discussions."[1] These scholars were the resipient of royal honours and some of those who illumined the court of Ibraheem were these: Amir Shah Mohd. Anju, Amir Imaduddin, Mahmood Shirazi, Qasim Beg Shirazi and Hussain Quli Mirza. They were all profound scholars and masters in logic. Ibraheem constructed many schools in addition to mosques and other buildings. Lofty mosques and schools and colossal buildings were erected during his regime.[2] The work of compilation too had commenced during this period. Khor Shah Bin Qubadul Hussaini wrote a comprehensive history entitled "the History of Qutub Shahs."[3] During the reign of Ibraheem's successor, Mohd. Quli Qutub Shah, this literary fervour rocketed to a high pitch of excellence and his love and patronage of men of letters won him a host of the elite and the enlightened. The appointment of Allama Mir Momin Astarabadi, at a subsequent stage, to the office of Peshwa of the kingdom is a pointer in this direction. His erudition and his puritanical life had earned him the title of "The Chosen of the Islamic countries." He was also an eminent poet in Persian and the author of numerous works. He is credited with having composed a collection of Persian

1—Abu Turab, Hadiqua, part I, p. 198.
Deccani Manuscripts, Naseeruddin Hashimi.

2—Tarike-Qutub Shahi, Leaf No. 225, Salar Jung Library.

3—This history was completed during the reign of Abdullah Qutub Shah in the year 1038 H. It contains no account of the Qutub Shahs but the history of Islam in general. A good copy thereof is extant in the Salar Jung Library.

poetry and his literary circle did much to propagate learning in the South. This aside, other men of letters namely, Qazi Samnani, Mirak Moin Sabzwari and Mirza Mohd. Amin Seestani also cast a spell of radiance over his court. Mirza Mohd. Amin penned four "masnavis" in imitation of the "Khumsa-e-Nizami."[1]

Mohd. Quli Qutub Shah also held aloft the traditions of his predecessors and the work of construction of schools side by side with mosques and hospitals received due impetus in his regime. The ruins of these buildings stand even to this day and are glaring testimony of the king's love of arts and sciences. He was himself a worthy poet in Persian and had adopted "Qutub Shah" as his short poetic title.[2]

1—The four Masnavis were : Shirin Khusro, Laila Majnu, Falakul Buruj and Matmahul Ashaar. See the "Maktutat" by Nasiruddin Hashmi.

2—A few pieces of verse are given here, which testify to his mastery over the Persian language.

غزل - ۱

با شمع بگو گرمئی دیوانهٔ خود را
کاتش زند از رشک تو پروانهٔ خود را
هوش و خرد از پای درافتند چو مستان
چون سرمه کشی نرگس مستانهٔ خود را

غزل - ۲

ملک محبت که داد خواه ندارد
ملک چنین هیچ بادشاه ندارد
زهی کرم قطب شاه که چون دگران نیست
جز کرم دوست تکیه گاه ندارد

(Tarikhe-Qutub Shahi, Leaf 283-284.)

Sultan Mohd. Qutub Shah excelled his ancestors in his love for learning. A devoutly religious man, he was nevertheless a scholar of a very high order and, as history tells us, "scholars who enlivened his presence were steeped in all arts and sciences." The study of history was his special fancy and according to Nizamuddin, Sultan Mohd. seemed to cherish a perennial liking for books on biography and history. He was gifted with such a prodigious memory that nothing which once came his way ever escaped his keen sense of retention. He offered ingenious explanations for any abstruse phenomenon of nature in every day occurence and drew upon his vast knowledge of letters to comment upon every author and compiler, on the reverse of the work. There were yet several books in the archives of the royal library which bear the imprint of His Majesty's hand. We can well connect these threads to compile a comprehensive history of his age.[1] A glance through these pages brings home the belief that "Sultan Mohd.'s was a mighty mind in the contemporaneous literature." Even more than that, 'he put his shoulders to the literary wheel by showering honours on men of merit, each according to his special aptitude."[2] A poet of singular faculties, he adopted the pseudonym of Zillullah in persian. His poetry speaks eloquently of his rare powers of observation. Scholars like Syed Kamaluddin Mazindrani and Mir Qutbuddin Nematulla studded the firmament of his court and several significant works are credited to his age. The History of tne Qutub Shahs[3] which is considered to be

1—Abu Turab, Hadiqua, part I, p. 288.

2—Saidi Nizamuddin, pp. 22-23. The author of Tarikhe-Qutub Shahi has much praise for the king's ability and versatile genius —see leaf 302, Salar Jung Library.

3—Its author is not known. It contains the events up to the year 1026 H.

an outstanding and authentic work of history, was the outcome of this period and was probably the result of the inspiration carried by the king's august efforts to promote literature. It is not unjust to hold that the king himself took to writing and compilation. The following nine books are ascribed to him:—

(1) Ruhul Qudus
(2) Zafarul-Qulub,
(3) Qudrat Nama,
(4) Misbahul Arwah,
(5) Ahkamul Mohibbeen,
(6) Nehaetul Hikam,
(7) Hidayatul Mohabat,
(8) Hidayatul Muarra,
and (9) Fatehul Abvab.

The titles of these works are suggestive of their themes which are variegated and cover mysticism, morals, science and philosophy. In case that these valuable works are admitted as the product of Sultan Mohd.'s own efforts, the whole episode softens into a monument to his pedantic knowledge and erudition. If it turns out otherwise, the fact repeats, that these at least fell during his time and were compiled under his personal care and are again a well-earned tribute to his patronage of letters.[1] Besides, he was a good poet and wrote verse both in Persian and in Uurdu, his pseudonyms in these languages being Zillullah and Sultan respectively. His work in Persian is traceable in a vast measure

1—A collection of these books may be seen in the Salar Jung Library. The title page thereof bears the words "By Abdul Khaliq Sultan Mohd. Qutub Shah." This shows that the books were written by Sultan Mohd.

and deals with varied aspects of Persian poetry viz., eulogy, quatrain, love-song and elegy. His work largely bears the stamp of his rare talent and his poetic endeavour in Persian shows his command over that language.[1]

Literary activity inundated the reign of Abdullah Qutub Shah also. Like his ancestors, he was also a lover of knowledge and men of scholastic learning hovered round him. A few of them are the following:—

1— A few couplets are noted below:—

حمد حضرت باری تعالی

یا رب چه برتری تو ز وصف لسان ما
پنهان شده ز شرم زبان در دهان ما
در حضرت تو یقین و گمان را چو راه نیست
حیران وصف تست یقین و گمان ما
ظل الله از شریدان در پناه تست
ای درگه جلال تو دارالامان ما

نعت و منقبت

مصطفی و مرتضی چون نیستند از هم جدا
نعت و مدح هردوشه را می کنم با هم ادا
آن یکی فرمان روای هر نبی و هر ولی
وان دگر مسند نشین بارگاه کبریا
همچو ظل الله یابی شاه راهی از بهشت
گر بدانی بعد پیغمبر علی را مقتدا

(Continued on Page 372)

Allama Mir Mujadduddin, Moulana Rounaqi, Qazi Ahsan Mir Miran, Hakim Abdul Jabbar Gilani, Sheikh Abdul Latif, Noorulla, Mirza Mohd. Johar Tabrezi, Mirza Hamza Astarbadi, Mir Fazlullah Shirazi, Shaikh Harun, Mulla Taphtai Shirazi, and Mulla Arab, the calligrapher. These poets and scholars, at times, used to be in audience with the king throughout the long hours of the night, and amidst their ranks he relished "the feast of reason and the flow of soul." Books on various arts and sciences poured out by the dozens during this period and are tributes, sound and unswerving, to the Qutub Shahi dynasty. Nizamuddin Ahmed wrote the history of this period entitled "Hadeeqatus salateen Qutub Shahi" and Allama Ibne Khatun made his share of contribution by reviewing works entitled "Kitabul Irshad" and "Jame Abbasi" and also by translating the "Arbain." Translation in Persian of "Almisbah" by Allama

(Continued from page 371)

غزل - ۱

یاقت وصل تو دلم صدق و صفا را دریاب
اثر مہر نگر فیض و فا را دریاب......
رهنمایان همه د رعشق تو ره گم کردند
اندرین ره دل بے راه نمارا دریاب

رباعی - ۱

اے درگه تو سجدة گه شاة و گدا
درخورد تو توحید که دارد یارا
از امر مطاع قل هوالله احد
شد جرات این بیان دلکش مارا

Jamaluddin and of Aiwan-i-Akbar Raza" by Mulla Ali bin Taifur are also noteworthy. Hussain Ameli, penned a commentary on "Nehajul-Balagha" and Mulla Fazlulla Samnani rendered in Persian the famous book "Rouzur Riaheen" by Imam Yafei.[1] Yet far more important is the work of Ibne Imad, whose master-piece "Kirkhatul Ulema" embodied various arts and sciences. This book makes a comprehensive survey of all sciences and is a perpetual glory of the Qutub Shahi age.[2] The famous dictionary of Persian entitled the "Burhan-e-Qate" was but another of the very noted works which is still extant. Its compiler was one by name Mohd. Hussain and according to his own version, "he prepared a dictionary under the patronage of Abdullah Qutub Shah."[3]

Another work of Persian rendering was done by a Persian scholar, Ahmed Shahbuddin Ameli. The writer translated in Persian the learned book, Alkashkol by the celebrated scholar Shaike Bahauddin at the instance of King Abdullah. The original book written in Arabic is a compendium, throwing light on various aspects of religious and moral life. The translation enriched the language and made a contribution to knowledge.[4]

Abul Hasan never lagged behind in the field of art and letters. His reign had reached the golden prime in the

1. Deccani Manuscripts in Europe, Naseeruddin Hashimi.

2—This work consists of six volumes: the first is on "Tafsir," the second on "Hadith," the third on "Fiqh," and was entitled "Majmaud-Daqaiq, the fourth was on "Causes of things" and was entitled "Kashiful-Asrar," the fifth was on "Hikmat," and the sixth on "Miscellaneous Arts and Sciences." A copy of this work is available in the Salar Jung Library.

3—Mohammed Husain, Burhani-i-Qate.

4—A copy of the Mss. is extant in the Salar Jung Library.

advancement of learning, especially Islamic Theology. Two works of great academic worth and value by Muhazabbuddin Ahmed and Ali Hussani Alkoh Khailavi, were written during the reign. The former is a commentary of the Quran entitled, Tafsirul Quran which, according to the author, was completed at Hyderabad in 1089 A. H. and the latter entitled Hilyatul Qari is on the science of Quran elocution, compiled at the instance of the king. Both the works may be regarded as magnum opus with regard to both their academic value and bulk which redound to the memory of the scholar-king, Abul Hasan as also to the religious zeal of the age.[1]

Patronage of the Urdu language is the fairest jewel in the diadem of the Qutub Shahi kings. The Qutub Shahs vied vigorous with the courts of the Deccan in adorning this language. They offered a seat of honour to Urdu poets and much loved the language in the same spirit and zeal as the Mughal emperors showered laurels on the poets of the Persian language. Faizi and Abu Talib Kalim, the poet-laureates of the Mughal court had their counterparts in Vajihi and Gawasi in the courts of the Deccan. The analogy is not yet complete and the kings themselves vented their feelings in Urdu verse and thereby gave such a scintillating touch to the language that it smoothly found its way to adorn the highest rung of the court ladder. The people took pride in styling Urdu as their mother tongue. It may be a sober truth to

1—The commentary is in manuscript and extant in the Salar Jung Library. Sixteen more treatises on various topics, such as, Islamic Law, Jurisdrudence, Traditions etc. compiled by the same author are also in the Library, but they were written outside India. Hilyatul Qari is the private possession of Dr. Abdul Haque of Madras,

say that the said patronage by the Adil Shahi and Qutub Shahi kings was responsible for its great advancement and but for this patronage of Urdu the language would have rot in some forlorn stables. Perhaps, two motives are ascribable to this patronage. The first was the merger of the kingdom of Gujrat with the Mughal Empire and the second was the struggle for predominance between the northern and the southern cultures. With the conquest of Gujrat, in the year 1572, by the Mughal Emperor Akbar, the purge of Urdu poets from Gujrat set in and they sought shelter in the courts of the Deccan, where royal patronage greeted them with open arms. The migration of Shah Miran-ji, Urdu laureate of his time, to Bijapur is but the first chapter of this memorable history. Though the struggle between the North and the South put on apparently the mask of political differences, a meticulous study would lay bare that in substance its cultural aspect dominated the entire scene. Just as the Deccani kingdoms formed themselves in battle-array to ward off the Mughal menace, they put a yet more strenuous strife on the cultural field to preserve this trump-card of their self-existence. Language constituted an essential fabric of culture and hence the resistance offered to the North in this plane with all the might and main. So, if the Northerners espoused the cause of Persian, the Southerners would fling back, kissing and caressing Urdu, as their own off-spring, aye as their own treasured life. Moreover, language was the only effective weapon in their arsenal to wage victorious in the war for the preservation of their cherished culture. A simple lapse on the part of the Deccan in wielding this weapon and the doom was in sight; the Persian would have reigned supreme and remnants of the southern culture be swept away by the torrents of the Mughal floods. Thus, this

display of sentimentalism and national support somehow came to the rescue of the Urdu language and rowed her across to the shores of safety and perpetuity.

The Adil Shahi court was perhaps the first to extend this patronage to Urdu, since this dynasty entered into a struggle for existence with the Mughals even prior to the rise of the kingdom of Golcunda. Leaving this aside, no sooner was the kingdom of Gujrat liquidated than the palanquin of Urdu, whole and intact, moved to Bijapur, a vicinity of Ahmadabad, where the myriads of Urdu poets who had hitherto sought it as their abode, pledged loyalty to the Adil Shahi alms and earnestly set to work to enhance the cause of Urdu literature. This let loose a tremendous activity in the field of culture and the various aspects of Urdu language were so enriched that it long before claimed hegemony over Persian. On this score it may be proper to hold that the kingdom of Golcunda lagged behind the kingdom of Bijapur in this field and yet true to say that the Qutub Shahi patronage was but a "second phase" as the currents hitherto had traversed underneath the ground. Nevertheless, the Qutub Shahi courts least shrank from going the entire way to serve the cause of language. It shared in common with the kingdom of Bijapur in the production of literary masterpieces. The kingdom of Golcunda had yet one more advantage in as much as all her kings were men of high learning who valued knowledge for its own sake and priced Urdu as the most coveted of their possessions. They penned verse in Urdu and left behind sizable collections of Urdu poetry. Now arguing the other way round, we have to acknowledge at the same time, that the Qutub Shahi court in turn shed lustre on the Bijapur court. If initial success fell to the lot of Bijapur, Golcunda witnessed the return of glory later and

even surpassed the former. The poet Muqueemi of Bijapur refers clearly to this fact in his poetry and goes on to admit that Gawasi was his master. Likewise, the literary activity during the last phase of Bijapur, when Mulla Nusrati and his contemporaries figured prominent in the field of poetry, was indebted to Qutub Shahi vehicles of inspiration, because Qadija Sultana, the mother of Ali Adil Shah II, better known to the students of Bijapur history as Haji Bade-saheb, was the fountain head of all this literary tremor. She set the stage anew for literary performance and enlisted men and material to further this objective. She even succoured tottering poets, from which it is evident that the inspiration came from the kingdom of Golcunda as the above named lady happened to be the sister of Abdullah Qutub Shah.

The reigns of Sultan Quli Qutub Shah and Jamsheed Qutub Shah were barren from the literary point of view and Urdu language seems to have received a set back for some time during this period. But, with the commencement of the rule of Ibraheem Qutub Shah, when the work of consolidation of the kingdom was set on foot, the Deccani language again stepped into the arena of letters. The names of poets like Feroz and Mahmood loom large on the literary horizon and the two named above appear to have been, in all likeness, something of the poets of mettle. Although their works are not traceable and a mystery shrouds the life of these poets, yet their potential existence sets one athinking that at least for the promotion of Urdu, ties had been cemented during the reign of Ibraheem Qutub Shah, so much so that when his successors ascended the throne, this progress was further accelerated and even reached its zenith during the reign of Mohd. Quli and Sultan Mohammad. Urdu, by this time, had all the makings of a polished language. Mohd. Quli Qutub

Shah did his utmost to further the cause of Urdu during the thirty years of his reign. He was himself a prominent Urdu poet and wrote verse under the short name of "MAANI." His collections comprised various aspects of Urdu poetry like eulogy, love song, elegy and quartets which had for their themes political, cultural and social problems. His compositions are tinged with spontaneity and rush of thoughts and are endowed with a rare charm and vivacity, which go to prove that he was far ahead of his times. Rarely, perhaps, did any monarch ever combine in his poetry such divine grace and charm and Urdu literature is rightly proud of him.[1]

1—Selections from his verse:—

قصیدہ عید نوروز

کہ نس دن عید ہوے نوروز مجھ کون نت خدا دیتا
میرے دل مرغ کی خاطر پھولان عشرت نوا دیتا

نظم جلوہ

پرم پیاری کا جلوہ گاو سارے
اسے چند سور سون پریان سنگارے
سہاگان بھاگ پھل مسنک کھلے ہیں
سہیلیاں ارتی نارے نوارے...

رچا دو تخت جلوے کا خوشی سون
کہ چوند ہر چوک موتیاں سون سنوارے

ہے عشق ہواک دھات ہراک دل میں پیارا
مج عشق پیاری کا اہے جیو کا آدھارا...

اے قطب معانی کہ ترا قطب خطاب ہے
کر شکر خدا پر کہ قرار ہے سو سنارا—۱

1—Kulliat-i-Mohammed Quli Qutub Shah, edited by Dr. Zore.

There were many poets in the court of Mohd. Quli Qutub Shah but it is regretted that we could know only two of them, namely, Vajihi and Ahmed. Vajihi was probably born during the reign of Ibraheem Qutub Shah. He struck a high note in poetry and his poetic virtue made itself known during the regime of Mohd. Quli Qutub Shah. This spread his fame far and wide and he composed a poem entitled "Qutub-e-Mushtari" as besides bringing out the prose work called, Subras, both of which have been penned in a light but masterly vein and reckon among the most valuable additions to the history of literature. His another literary creation was "Laila Majnu" which was taken up at the behest of the king. But it is surprising to note that the tenure of his successor, Sultan Mohammad Qutub Shah was fraught with sordid dearth of Urdu poets despite the fact that the king himself showed a profound interest in poetry and composed a collection thereof under the pseudonym of Qutub Shah.[1] He further edited the poetic compositions of his uncle and wrote a foreword to it. But, as is evident from the numerous works in Persian and Arabic which litter this age, the king seemed to have a great liking for the said languages also. The budding poets who were patronised by Abdulla Qutub Shah were living at the time of Sultan Mohd., yet in the absence of any royal patronage, they were centainly destined to oblivion. Hence, so far as this phase is concerned, the age of Sultan Mohd. appears to have been miserably barren of any flutter in the field of Urdu literature.

The reign of Abdullah Qutub Shah, however, which covered well nigh half a century, was a boon to the Urdu

1—The collection of Sultan Mohammad Qutub Shah's. Urdu Poems could not be unearthed upto this day.

language and it attained its pinnacle of perfection and glory and as such this period rightly deserves to be called the golden age of Urdu literature. First and foremost, the monarch, at the apex, was a profound scholar and a poet, and he himself stooped to grace the language and to this end he composed a collection of poetry. He wielded a facile pen which outweighed his predecessor Sultan Mohammad, although his compositions yet lacked in flow of thought and sweetness of manner which went to confer a special charm to the works of his grandfather, Mohd. Quli Qutub Shah. He adopted the short name of Abdullah for purposes of Urdu poetry.[1]

Secondly, under his royal patronage, many poets walked the stage of poetry like Colossus and left behind an esteemed treasure of knowledge. It would be no exaggration to say that the Urdu language was put on the mantle of a well recognised and authentic vehicle of expression during this period. Two poets, namely Gawasi and Ibne-Nishhati are worthy of

1— Selections from his verse:—

غزل - ۱

منجے نوروز تھے !گلا صفا تم لکہہ جدا دینا
صفا جیسا جو منگنا تھا سو ویسا منج خدا دینا
تراقد پھول کی ڈالی نمن کھل مکھکانے تھے
خوشی پا جیو کا بلبل سو غم کون سب ودا دینا
نبی کے صدقے عبد اللہ سدا تون شکر کر اس کا
جکوئی تج کون نوازیا ہور شاھی کا ھدا دینا - ۱

(Kulliat-i-Abdullah Qutub Shah edited by Prof. Syed Mohammed of the Osmania University.)

a particular mention. The former was the creator of the famous eulogies viz., Badi-ul-Jamal, Saif-ul-Muluk and Tutinama. These too are homely tales commonly held to be the wonder works of story telling. The other poet, namely, Ibne-Nishati is responsible for the celebrated composition, "Phoolbun" which is again a narrative introduced into Urdu from Persian. From the criterion of the mode of expression and the smooth flow of facts, it is an epic work of the Qutub Shahi age. Besides these, two other poets, namely, Tab-ee and Amin also ranked high in the scales of poetry during this period. The former wrote an interesting story entitled "Behram and Gul-Andam" which is lucid in style and intelligible in expression. This literary enterprise, however, did not come to an end after Abdullah. It still continued with some fervour. Abul Hasan Qutub Shah who was himself a paragon of learning made a boon of Urdu language and it appears that his beneficence furrowed with equal grace and charm the two fields of Urdu and Persian poetry. His strong poetic fancies stood in good stead even when he spent a miserable prisoner's time. But, one misses badly his vast compositions and, excepting a few couplets,[1] a good lot of his poetic work is extinct.

Beside the king, there were also many other unfortunate poets during these wicked times who were busy in their work of writing poems. On record are the names of Faez, Lateef, Shahi, Noori, and Mirza Ghulam Ali who were all poets of repute and calibre. Of these, Faez and Shahi stand out

1—A couplet written by him is given below:—

کس دکھوں جاوں کہاں مجہہ دل پہ پھل بچہڑات ھے
یک بات کے ھوینگے سجن یان جی ھی بارہ بات ھے

Deccani Mss. by Nasiruddin Hashimi).

prominent and Mirza was bound fast to the court of the monarch. The work of all these poets is available in the form of tales and eulogies and the conclusion follows that the regime of Abul Hassan was by no means a failure from the stand point of Urdu literature and poetry.

TELUGU.

The Qutub Shahs brimmed over with zeal and fervour to adorn the Telugu language and literature and in this, their unstinted and unbudging endeavours only equalled to that of Urdu and Persian. It is an irrefutable fact that the Qutub Shahi kings regarded Telangana as their own hearth and home and Telugu, as next to their own tongue. As such, they launched vigorous and earnest efforts to serve the cause of this language and they encouraged Telugu pupils and poets by all the means at their command with the result that the coffers of this language were greatly enriched in the end. They themselves had enough knowledge of these letters and also composed poems for it, sake. It is hence no distortion of truth to say that the Qutub Shahi age was the golden age of the Andhra Desha and the Telugu literature, for neither in the wake of the Qutub Shahi dynasty, nor in any successive phase thereof, was this language ever dowered with such royal grace and beneficence, and, as is obvious, every language is nursed and nourished in a king's court. Ibraheem Qutub Shah is the first monarch to herald the glory of Telugu language. The earlier part of his life was spent at Devarcunda and later on he was in exile for 7 years in Vijayanagar. Probably it was in this environment that he deeply imbibed the local influences and acquired an immaculate taste for Telugu. He was well versed in the language and could appreciate the subtle themes occuring in master compositions of Telugu poets and pandits. His court was as much the eyrie

of Telugu poets as of Urdu and Persian and these Telugu poets had their own slice of this royal pie. Of the many two thus sang to the monarch, the pleasant symphony of Telugu, was one called "Adanki Gangadhar" who was a reputed Telugu poet and a doyen of the Telugu literature. He is credited with the authorship of the well-known Telugu work "TAPATI SAMAVARAN-PAKHIANAM"[1] under the auspices of the monarch. The nobles and courtiers also toed the king's line and one of them, Amin Khan, is remembered even to this day as the one comely patron of the noted Telugu poet, Panagondi Telagana Areya. This poet who hailed from Patancheru is the author of the formidable work entitled, "YAYATI CHARITRA." This book throws ample light on the customs and traditions, the social life and culture of the period and brings to light how Amin Khan, who was the collector of Patancheru, struggled to discourage the practice of idol worship and how his wife, Shakar Bibi, went round the houses of the poor and the depressed classes, distributing food and clothing among them.

Mohd. Quli Qutub Shah, the chief architect of the Qutub Shahi dynasty, devoted his life and soul to the service of Andhra Desha. If his ascendants were mulkies only to a fluctuating degree, Mohd. Quli was a native of Telangana to the very core, as set out by the editor of Mahnama who even ventures to remark that the said monarch had Telugu blood in his veins. His love of Telangana and its legendary history evidently tends to be axiomatic in any such evaluation.

1—This book has been published by Prof. Subba Rao, Retired Chairman of Telugu Dept., Osmania University, together with a learned foreword, and the information given above with regard to patronage of Telugu has been derived from his paper.

These nationalist tendencies rejuvenated the society on all fours and in the constructive field, the monarch's unremitting labours to place Telugu on the high pedestal, are highly laudable. As Mohd. Quli Qutub Shah himself held these letters in no abject submission, the story has gone round that he also composed a collection of Telugu poetry. Though it is missing, his other poems yet confirm this belief and testify to his keen love for Telugu. His Urdu collection of poetry is interspersed with inceremonious use of Telugu words and phrases and even more strange is the fact that his Urdu poems centre round local Hindu festivals and spree of Hindu culture to which has been attached much importance, for example, Vasant festival, Shravan Badoon, and Phokriphoo.[1] It thus

1—A few selections from his interesting poems are given below:—

بسنت کی عید

پیارے بسنت کا ھوا آئیا
سلیاں تن مشک زعفران لائیا
پیارے مکھ میا نے کھیلیا بسنت
پھولاں حوض تھے چڑکے چھڑکیا بسنت

پھوگڑی پھو

سکی ناں دے مجع تتکنی کھڑی
کہ ڈھاں ڈھکنی کھل کو ھتکنی کھڑی

تلنگن

پیاری جوونی مین پڑنت تج پیم
مجے جیو دیونا ھے پیم میں نیم
نبی صدقے قطب شہ سانولی سون
بچن ھندی سون بولے ایم رے ایم

(Kulliat Mohd. Quli Qutub Shah). Edited by Dr. Zor.

emerges that these royal benedictions were evenly affected towards both the Islamic and the local traditions and from the fusion of the two there sprang up a new nation with a common culture. A Telugu poet, Kesavrajna was patronized by Abdullah Qutub Shah. The poet composed Telugu Padas and received liberal donations from the king in recognition of his literary production.[1]

Even religious leaders and Sufees of the time studied Telugu and Sanskrit and wrote books in those languages. Shah Akbar Husaini alias 'Hazrat Bade Sahib,' son of Hazrat Shah Raju, was one of the Sufees who was well read in the languages and wrote learned books. Shah Akber wrote a book in Telugu entitled, Sringara Manjari which deals with various types of women and their feelings. The book was translated into Sanskrit by the same author. This book alone is enough to reflect the literary spirit of the age as to how the Telugu language and learning were encouraged and how the Muslims were interested in it.[2]

1—Dr. Raghavan, Sringara Manjari, published by the Archeological Department of Hyderabad. p. 9.

2—Dr. Raghavan, Sringara Manjari, Published by the Archeological Department of Hyderabad 1955.

CHAPTER XXII

ARCHITECTURE

HYDERABAD.

The architectural style of a nation derives its character from the habitat of the people, their conditions of life and ideals. The Qutub Shahs had developed an architectural style of their own which manifests itself in the simplicity cum grandeur of arches and pillars, symmetry of domes and minarets. The style is distinguishable from that of the Bahmanides and the contemporary dynasties. To quote the words of a famous historian, "The Qutub Shahi rulers were distinguished, among all the sovereigns of the Deccan, in their generosity, nobleness of mind and sublimity of thought."[1] The city of Hyderabad with its exquisite lay out and embelishments may rightly be called the memoralibia of Qutub Shah kings. There were many incentives in the construction of the city. First of all, the original centre of the government happened to be at Golcunda itself. The entire population was squeezed in the fortified town. The foundation stone of this fort was laid by Sultan Quli, yet it was chiefly constructed and strengthened by Ibraheem Qutub Shah and gained importance by and by as the kingdom grew in size and power. All the necessities of civilised life were provided within the four walls of this Fort City and according to a historian, "the extent of Golcunda

1—Mahnama, page 304,

could be judged from the fact that about 40.000 horsemen could be placed within the enclosure and lofty buildings were scattered all over."[1] But its population increased day by day and as a result thereof it had not only become congested but it was also giving way to disease and pestilence.[2] According to a historian, "Owing to the everincreasing population and congestion, the atmosphere was being infected and the people had to face the danger of deadly diseases." Besides this, the political activities of the kingdom were growing apace and the capital was not sufficient to meet all its increasing demands. The influx of foreigners who visited the capital every time gave rise to new problems. The political envoys who conveyed messages from Middle East countries and Indian States, travellers, scholars and traders who were attracted by the growing popularity and cultural advances of the kingdom increased the demand. It created in the minds of the Qutub Shahs a burning desire to have a new impressive city. Above all, the lofty ideas of Mohd. Quli Qutub Shah also demanded an extensive and civilised city. The old city of Golcunda could not satisfy the aspiration and aesthetic taste of a great ruler of his calibre.

The prime mover in the construction of this city is said to be the romance of Mohammed Quli Qutub Shah whose love with a Telugu girl is a well known story to this day. The tradition has it that Mohammed Quli was in deep love with Bhagamati or Bhagyamati who lived in the village of Chichlam where the new city of Hyderabad was laid out. He used to come to this girl in his princely days. It is said that the construction of the old bridge, "Purana Pul" is a

1—Khafi Khan, Vol. III, p. 287.
2—Abu Turab, Part I, p. 214; Khafi Khan, Vol. III, p. 384.

monument of this romance.[1] When Mohd. Quli became king, he raised the status of the girl and provided a bodyguard of one thousand troops[2] for her escort and invested her with the title of Hyder Mahal. And the new city which was founded in 1591 was named Bhagnagar after her. The following couplet composed by the king in her honour confirms the love attachment.[3]

حیدر محل میا نے ناہات گھول ساجے
دن دن اندنت سبھی طبلاں مدن کے باجے
اس سرو قد کے اوپر جلوہ ھے نورتن کا
عشق کے پاتراں سب اس کاس دیکھ لاجے

It is commonly held that the famous poem in the Deccani language[4] entitled Qutub Mushtari by Mulla Wajhi, the court poet, depicts the same love story.

But it is strange that the tradition is not corroborated by the authentic records of the period, and therefore the fact remains shrouded in mystery whether the girl of that name ever existed after whom the city was named. The author of Qutub Shahi, the chief source of the Qutub Shahi history is silent on the point. His silence makes the matter all the more doubtful. The author of Mahnama refutes the theory in unequivocal terms. He denies the very existence of the girl. According to him, the lady known to history is Bhagrati, the wife of Ibraheem Qutub Shah and mother of Mohd. Quli

1—The bridge which was originally named Narva bridge was built in 1578 (986). The chronogram صراط مستقیم gives the date of its erection. See Bilgrami, Landmarks of the Deccan pp. 10-11.

2—Ferishta, part III, p. 173; Ghulam Hussain, Gulzar Asafia, pp. 14-15.

3—Quliat Mohd. Quli.

4—The life of Mohd. Quli by Dr. Zore, p. 81.

and not Bhagmati.[1] The name of the city as Bhagnagar as described by later historians, especially the Mughal writers is equally doubtful. Not only the contemporary historians speak of it as Hyderabad but also Mohammed Quli Qutub Shah, the founder himself refers to it in his poems, as Hyderabad or Shahre Hyder شہر حیدر and not Bhagnagar.[2] It is only the Mughal historians and foreign travellers who call the city Bhagnagar. The whole story of Bhagmati therefore seems to be more mythical than historical. It lacks historical evidence. If Bhagmati ever existed, she was a low class girl of whom Ferishta speaks as a prostitute and Khafi Khan, as a dancing girl.[3] It is almost certain that Bhagmati was never recognised as queen. According to Ferishta and other historians the king felt sorry for his past mistake and changed the name of the city after her death and renamed it as Hyderabad. The king's principal wife was a respectable lady. She was the daughter of Shah Mirza Isfahani Tabataba, according to Khafi Khan or the daughter of Meer Shah Meer, according to Qutub Shahi, who bore to the king only one daughter, Hayat Bakshi Begum. Shah Mirza as father-in-law of the king was given a respectable position in the state. He was promoted to the post of Peshwa. But it appears that he proved unworthy of the post and, therefore, he was not only forced to relinquish the post but also to leave Golcunda for Isfahan. He was replaced by Meer Momin.[4]

Whatever the motives, the foundation of the city of Hyderabad was laid some twelve years after Mohd. Quli Qutub Shah became the crowned head of Golcunda. It was a

1—Mahnama, p. 194.
2—The life of Mohammed Quli, Dr. Zore, p. 106.
3—Ferishta, part III, p. 173; Khafi Khan, Vol. III, p. 384.
4—Qutub Shahi, p. 242-243, Khafi Khan, Vol. III, p. 384.

solemn occasion for the Andhra Desha that the City of Bhagnagar or Hyderabad was founded in 999 H. (1590 A.D.). It took many years before it blossomed with new life and social activities. Its lay out and embellishment reflect the fine taste and genius of the founder. Hyderabad is a planned city laid out with elegant taste and geometrical accuracy, not a natural growth. It was scientifically planned, traversed by straight roads and studded in every direction with palaces, mansions, arches and gardens. First of all, the site chosen is the valley of the Musi river which not only satisfied the needs of water supply but also added beauty to the situation of the city. Secondly, a well-proportioned, beautiful and stately building known as the Charminar was constructed in the centre to give an imposing appearance to the city. The four arches known as Char Kaman at equal distance from one another, with a reservoir in the middle added to its grandeur.

PUBLIC BUILDINGS.

The Charminar and the Mecca Masjid surely rank among the wonders and, for their greatness and splendour, are without parallel in the world.[1] The Charminar or four towers is a triumphant archway which stands in the middle of the city where four straight roads converge from four directions. Erected to provide a fitting environment to royal pomp and pageantry, the Charminar is a square building with four spreading archways and 186 feet high Minars or turrets at each corner. "Though many other Islamic edifices were erected in the Deccan, none attained its elegance and strength, its diginity and its graceful architectural inventiveness." The Mecca Masjid is a massive building, the foundations whereof were laid by Sultan Mohd. Qutub Shah himself in 1617. The mason, Rangiah and the engineer, Faizullah Baig had

1—Thevenot, part III, p. 95.

started its construction, but it was accomplished after a toilsome labour of 77 years. Curiously enough, the work came to a finish when Aurangzeb's suzerainty had been established over the Deccan. Thousands of persons worked over this project and a single niche which has been carved out of a monolith, took as many as five years for completion and labour engaged on the work consisted of five thousand hands. At the time when the French Traveller, Tavernier visited Golcunda, the construction work of this mosque was still in progress. Yet, this globe-trotter was so moved even by this unfinished piece of architectural beauty as to observe that "if this building were completed it would undisputedly be the "grandest in all India and the noblest edifice in the whole of Asia."[1] Had it not been for the parsimonious credo of the Mughal Emperor, Aurangzeb, the minarets of this building today would have stood a shining example of the lofty imagination of Sultan Mohammed. In spite of this economy, this "Great Hall of Worship" brings to mind the real greatness of the Qutub Shahi Kings. To this day, it echoes in the memory of all and sundry in Hyderabad that the foundation stone of this building was laid by the most pious and orthodox hands. At no time during all the 24 hours was this mosque stripped of divine worshippers. It was perhaps for this reason that it came to be known as the Mecca Masjid. The following couplet by a contemporary poet refers to the fact :

طواف خانہ اشرف گرت میسر نیست-
بیا بہ کعبہ ملک دکن عبادت کن

If you have no means to perform Haj Pilgrimage at Mecca, come and pray in this Mecca of the Deccan.

The lay-out of the city was not confined to the straight roads and public buildings. The Qutub Shahs also desired

1—Tavernier, Travels, Vol. I, p. 124.

to create a collective life in their subjects so that they could promote social activities, develop their mental and moral faculties and thereby diffuse their cultural rays all over the country. All kinds of amenities that were necessary for a good living were provided for. There were four markets in the city with more than 14,000 shops which supplied varied commodities that were necessary for city life.[1] It is evident from the number of these shops that they supplied the variety of commodities and catered to the needs of a civilised life. Besides, the social and religious requirements of the people were equally emphasised. Public baths, monasteries, schools, mosques, free kitchens, guest-houses and caravansarais were built and the number of such buildings appears to be more than 12,000. Some of the buildings constructed during the reign of Mohd. Quli are extant even to this day. The Jam-e-Masjid in the eastern corner of Charminar, with a Turkish bath, is of particular importance and it is a good piece of architecture. According to Tavernier, there were 4 or 5 caravansarais within the city itself and they were all double storied.[2] One of them still exists near the Old Bridge. Apart from the schools built for the advancement of learning, a big hospital was erected for the treatment of the diseased. It was known as "Darus-Shafa." Though it is in ruins, yet it serves as the memento of the cultural greatness of Mohd. Quli. Royal physicians and surgeons were appointed to work in the hospital and attend to the diseased who were given free medicines and treatment.[3] Shady trees were planted all along the roads and high ways and aqueducts were constructed for the supply of water.

1—Ahqar, Zafra p. 9.

2—Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 123.

3—Ahqar, Zafra p. 13.

ROYAL PALACES.

Hyderabad was a veritable city of palaces. Ever since the dawn of the kingdom, magnificent structures sprang up rapidly throughout the length and breadth of the capital, giving to the city the most imposing appearance. The lead was given by Ibraheem Qutub Shah, who built an imposing durbar hall known as Dowlat-Khane-Aali. Among the buildings and gardens which he has to his credit, Baghe Gulshan, Ibraheem Bagh, Langar Darwaza, Imambada and Baradari are well-known. But the vociferous activity in the architectural field was set afoot by Mohd. Quli Qutub Shah who was the great architect of his age. Dad Mahal and Khuda Dad Mahal were magnificent palaces of his time. Dad Mahal which was meant for administration of justice was a very gorgeous building composed of many stories and halls. It struck foreign travellers with surprise. Khudadad Mahal was a residential mansion. It was a very lofty building composed of seven stories. As each story was a palace by itself, it bore a separate name. The seventh story was named Ilahi Mahal, the 6th was called Mohammadi Mahal and, likewise, the 5th was Hyderi Mahal, the 4th Hasani Mahal, the 3rd Hussaini Mahal, the 2nd Jafari Mahal and the 1st Moosavi Mahal. Mirak Moin Sabzwari who was the Hajib of Ahmed Nagar had praised this building in the following couplets:—

این قصر کہ هست رشک افزائے بہشت
ایام بہ آب زندگانیش نوشت
تاریخ مرتب شدنش کلک قضا
برلوح بقا بنائے جاں بخشش نوشت

This palace which vies with heavens in splendour
The world has marked it for eternity;

The chronogram of its completion was noted by the Divine Pen,
On the Eternal Tablet as the life-giving edifice.[1]

Beside the aforesaid palaces, the Banat Ghat, Mohammed Shahi Garden and Kohe Tur require a separate treatment. The height and grandeur of Kohe Tur received much applause and most of the poets used to sing songs in its praise. When this Kohe Tur was completed, the king was very much pleased and all the grandees of the kingdom were honoured with gorgeous dresses. Mir Abu Talib, who acted as Nazir in the reign of Mohd. Quli Qutub Shah, states that 70 lacks of huns were spent in the construction of Hyderabad and its buildings.[2] The nobility of Golcunda also took active part in beautifying and decorating this city. In addition to Chandan Mahal, Sajan Mahal and Lal Mahal which were greatly admired, another palace known as Nadi Mahal stood on the banks of the river, Moosi and being in concord with the waters streaming fast, it presented a lovely spectacle. Historians have highly praised the situation and artful construction of this imposing structure. Though it no more remains, a eulogy written in praise of that building would give an idea of its grandeur. It runs as follows:—

این مقام خوش که مستغنی است از نقش و نگار
هست باجنات تجری تحتها الانهار یار
فرخ آن منزل که شاهی را بود در وے نشست
روشن آن محفل که ماهے را بود در وے گزار

This pleasent spot does not require any more decoration,
It is a replica of heaven with canals flowing below;

1—Ahqar, Zafra, p. 16.
2—Ibid, p. 21.

Fortunate is its story which is honoured by the king's seat,
Lighted is the audiance as the moon diffuses its glow.[1]

But, among the famous buildings of Mohd. Quli Qutub Shah may be included the Koh-i-tur and Nabat Ghat. These were erected on a plateau in the suburbs of the city and were laid out in a harmonious fashion with streams and waterfalls hudding the main structure. Fountains were devised at beauteous spots all round. Mohd. Quli Qutub Shah set out his thoughts on Koh-i-tur in fine lyrical poetry.[2] "Mishk Mahal," in view of its unique structure, enjoyed its own slice of reputation, and according to the words occuring in a history of Golcunda, "A like mansion does not exists on the face of this earth." Sultan Mohd. Qutub Shah was himself re-ponsible for the construction of many a palatial building. His one piece of architecture alone begs elaborate description. The decoration of the palace and the variety of interests created in the garden laid out appertenuant thereto, divulge to the onlooker, king Sultan Mohammad's genuine passion of building.

The reign of Abdullah Qutub Shah too witnessed the rise of many a colossal building. Nizamuddin Saidi tells us about a huge palace which consisted of four stories. Though its name is not traceable, the main structure of the building is said to have been carved of sandalwood and ivory and the inner apartments thereof were adorned with colour patterns and frescoes.[3] Further, the same king laid out two other gardens,

1—Ahqur, Zafra pp. 15-16.

2—Kulliat-i-Mohammed Quli edited by Dr. Zore.

3—The following is a panygeric on this palace:—

قصر عالی بنائے شاهنشاه - هست بر کلہ زمین چو کلاه
تاج برسر نهاده سطح زمین - میکند فخر بر سپهر برین

(Continued on page 397)

namely, the Nabi Bagh and the Baghe Lingampalli in the northern site of the city. Lingampally garden had a three storied mansion, the relics of which may be seen even today. These gardens were strewn with beautiful rows of plants and trees and had the benefit of abundant water supply.[1] Abul Hassan Qutub Shah was yet another of the Qutub Shahi Kings who constructed an imposing mansion on the southern bank of the river known as the Charmahal. The main structure was fourfold with a pool in the centre. Because the frame hoved in sight, as one approached the river, the overall premises afforded a grandiloquent sight. To the North, was also confined one more palace known as the Goshamahal, whose lasting ruins still tickle one's imagination. A pool nearby also survives to this day.[2]

"The palaces were nicely gilt and decorated and hung with beautiful tapestry and hangings of brocade and silk. The rooms and halls were tastefully furnished with luxurious furniture, China vase gold and silver ornaments." The royal palaces which were constructed in the western part made the city still impressive. The Western arch, "Kaman Sehr Bathil," formed the entrance, whereas the opposite arch, Kali Kaman was intended for kettle drums. The two archways were guarded by troops and elephants. A queer fact about these buildings was that all of them were fitted with mysterious water-supply arrangements. Almost all the palaces had a

(Continued from page 396)

The magnificent palace built by the king,
Is a crown on the face of the earth.
Lo! The earth wearing the crown;
Vies with Heaven in grandeur.

(Saidi p. 33)

1—Ahquar, Zafra p. 27.
2—Ibid, pp. 41-44.

network of water pipes and even the walls and ceilings were coursed with water. Besides these, the green and the grandeur of gardens in perpetual flourish, presented a feast to the eyes. Canals zigzagged at intervals and fountains and pools teemed the precincts. Straight and lovely pathways lay stretched betwixt the meadows, on either side of which also stood file after file of flagrant flowers and on the impulse of the occasion were set palm and cocoanut trees.[1] This zest was probably the singular lot of the Qutub Shahi kings. Even the Mughal Emperors and princes could not but be struck by their super-scenic beauty so much so that when Mohd. Kambaksh, the younger son of Aurangzeb, was assigned the office of the governor of Hyderabad, he chose to construct a house quite separate from the Qutub Shahi palaces. When this was conceived as a sign of extravagance by the Mughal Emperor, the prince replied that to make an abode of the Qutub Shahi buildings was yet costlier because they were so spacious and awe-inspiring, that the question of their maintenance aside, it was not possible even to light them up.[2] These words, coming as they do from a Mughal Prince, an inmate of the luxurious palaces of Emperor Shah Jahan, carry deep import and strike at the basic truth that the Qutub Shahi palaces were not a whit behind their Mughal counterparts in both style and grandeur. This is further confirmed by the observations made by various travellers.[3]

PUBLIC WORKS.

The public works done by the Qutub Shahs also merit special mention and the initiative in this field is said

1—Thevenot, part III, pp. 94-95.

2—Gulzare Asafia, p. 3.

3—William Methold, who was a servant of the British Company,

(Continued on page 399)

to have been taken by Ibraheem Qutub Shah, who engineered the construction of mosques, schools and tanks. The Husain Sagar tank, the Ibraheempatan tank, the Budwel tank were intended for irrigation and water supply. Hazrat Husain Shah Wali supervised the construction of the Husain Sagar lake and the project spread over a period of eight months and absorbed the huge sum of two lakhs. Ibraheem's successors followed him in his footsteps and built numerous schools, inns, swimming pools, baths, and alms-houses. But the great cultural contribution of Hyatbakshi Begum, which often found exposition in the shape of public welfare works, can never be dismissed as palpable. The services in the cultural plane rendered by Hayatma during the eighty years of her life are too difficult to be encompassed. The "Lunger procession" on the 5th of Moharram is her memorable feat and the thrill generally associated with its wake is still fresh in everybody's mind. Furthermore, the Hussaini Alam," "Bibika Alam," and "Bibika Cheshma" never suffer her memory to decay. But "Hayatabad" by far surpasses all other mementos closetted with the memory of the venerable lady which is, at the same, a mirror to her adroit fancies in the architectural field. The said city was constructed before the coronation of Sultan Abdullah Qutub Shah in the year 1035 H. This was probably designed to perpetuate the event and in fact it stands a just and fitting tribute to the millennium. First of all, it is situated to the east of Hyderabad, a very apt venue for the celebration of festivities and enactment of princely sports. Secondly, it was located on the trunk road

(Continued from page 398)
states that it was not possible to express in words the grandeur and beauty of the Qutub Shahi buildings and that they were better than the Mughal palaces. See Relations of Golcunda, p. 9.

to Masulipatam, so that the travellers pouring into Hyderabad from the eastern ports and districts halted here and it thus served as a resthouse thereabout. A royal palace and an inn known as Ma Sahab Inn were also constructed in Hyderabad, the latter apparently for the convenience of way-farers. The building has a profuse ingress and within its premises stands a mosque, a superb specimen of Qutub Shahi architecture. Another garden known as Khas Bagh, constructed in proximity thereof, lingers even today and a school too was built for children. These measures account admirably for the feverish activity and bustle which characterised the age of Hayat Ma. Nizamuddin, a Historian of the period, had set forth his praise in the following colourful terms:—

"Hayatabad is really a part of paradise, radiant with heavenly light, lying to the east, at a distance of six miles, of the kingdom. With the advent of the glorious reign of Qutub Shahi kings the city was transformed into a nursery of all that is good and beautiful. It is a cradle of craftsmen and industrialists, and here stand lofty palaces, lovely gardens and all other things which exist in the city of Hyderabad."[1]

The scientific planning and grandeur of the city of Hyderabad and its buildings go to prove the reality in the historical assertion that "it had no counterpart in the whole of India." It was really a marvel of the Medieval age. Foreign travellers and historians express their profound admiration about the granduer of the city. The famous French Traveller, Tavernier, who had come to Golcunda many a time, highly praises the city and writes: "The City has been planned with a good taste and it has good roads and highways."[2]

1—Saidi, part I, p. 105.
2—Tavernier Vol. I, p. 123.

William Methold says: "In view of its healthy climate and abundant supply of water, the city of Hyderabad is the best city in the whole of India."[1] It may here be borne in mind that these travellers had visited the Imperial cities in India and they had formed an opinion about Hyderabad after a comparative study. Ferishta, the famous historian, who had never been in touch with the Qutub Shahs, had praised this city in these words: "It is a city which, in respect of its elegance and charm, can never be found in the whole of India, from North to South and from East to West."[2] It should here be remembered that Ferishta, who was the contemporary of Mohd. Quli Qutub Shah, was aware of the Imperial cities of Agra and Lahore which were in full bloom. The later historians who belong to the age of Emperor Aurangzeb, lavish their praise on Hyderabad more than all others. Khafi Khan writes: "If I venture to write my own impression about the lakes and tanks of that city, or to commend the pleasantness of the climate and grace of that land, or to appreciate the beauty of that green land or even the fertility of that soil, I fail to find suitable words."[3] Mohammed Saqui who was the court chronicler of Aurangzeb, and who had accompanied the Emperor at the time of the siege of Golcunda, had applauded this city in these forceful words: "It is a resort of heavenly peace and worldly comfort; it gives solace to human heart and comfort to human body; its population is even larger than what human mind can think of; its buildings are loftier than human intellect can imagine; its air is as refereshing and the flow of fountains as sweet and, its verdures as pleasant and invigorating that the flowers and the vegetation

1—Relation of Golcunda, p. 9.
2—Ferishta, part III, p. 173.
3—Khafi Khan, Vol. II, p. 368.

of this land may be compared with the glister and colour of emerald and ruby."[1] We know that these historians were natives of Shahjahanabad and belonged to an age which witnessed the climax of Mughal culture and civilisation; and therefore their brilliant remarks about the city of Hyderabad, is but a proof of the greatness of the Qutub Shahi culture.

When the Emperor came to Hyderabad after the conquest of Golcunda, he was so much impressed by the elegance of the city and the grandeur of royal buildings that he stayed at Hyderabad for many days. Not only the Imperialist but all those who lived in Hyderabad had very poor impression of the Imperial cities. Whenever they searched for an example to compare Hyderabad with, they spoke of the cities of Iran and not Akberabad or Shahjahanabad. Hazrat Mir Momin's couplet may be cited in this connection.
چوں صفاهاں نوشد از شاه جهاں عباس شاه
حیدراباد از نوشد شاها صفاهاں نوے There can be little doubt that Hyderabad is a precious legacy of the Qutub Shahs which the Andhra people should be proud of. It is the only city of the name in the whole of Andhra country. Even today, it stands as a nervecentre inspiring the life of the country, social, political and intellectual, as it did in the Medieval time.

1—Saqui, Alamgiri p. 302.

GENEALOGY OF THE QUTUB SHAHI KINGS

Qara Khan
|
Aqhar Khan
|
Tora Baig
|
Qara Turmash
|
Qara Peeran
|
Qara Mansur
|
Qara Tursan
|
Qara Mohammed
|
Qara Yusuf
|
Sikander
|
Alwand
|

Peer Quli

Allah Quli

Owais Quli

1 — Sultan Quli Qutbulmulk
1518 — 1543 A. D.
924 — 950 A. H.

Hyder Quli

Qutbuddin

2—Yar Quli

Abdul Karim

Doulat Quli

Ibraheem Quli

Jamsheed Qutub Shah
1543 — 1550 A. D.
950 — 957 A. H.

3 — Subhan Qub
1550 — 1550 A. D.
950 — 950 A. H.

4—Ibraheem Qutub Shah
1550 — 1580 A. D.
957 — 988 A. H.

Shah Abul Qadir

Husain Quli

Mohammed Quli

Abdul Fattah, Khuda Banda

Mohd. Ameen

Chand Sultana
wife of
Ibraheem
Adil Shah
of Bijapur

5 — Mohammed Quli Qutub Shah
1580 1612 A. D.
988 | 1020 A. H.
Hayat Bakshi Begum

- 6 — Sultan Mohammed Qutub Shah
  1612 — 1626 A. D.
  1020 — 1035 A. H.
- Daughter, wife of Mohammed Adil Shah
  - Shah Khund Kar

Children of Sultan Mohammed Qutub Shah:

- 7 — Abdullah Qutub Shah
  1626 — 1672 A. D.
  1035 — 1083 A. H.
- Ibraheem Mirza
- Quli Mirza
- Kamal Mirza
- Khadija Sultana wife of Mohd. Adil Shah of Bijapur

Children of Abdullah Qutub Shah:

- Daughter Wife of Syed Ahmed
- Daughter wife of Mohammed Sultan
- Daughter, Wife of 8— Abul Hasan Qutub Shah (Tana Shah)
  1672 — 1687 A. D.
  1083 — 1097 A. H.

Children of the daughter and Abul Hasan Qutub Shah:

- Daughter wife of Sikander Adil Shah of Bijapur
- Daughter wife of Inayat Khan
- Daughter Wife of Mohd. Omar Naqshbandi
- Khuda Banda

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